SUPPLEMENTARY DEMANDS FOR GRANTS FOR EXPENDITURE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF MANIPUR, 1993-94.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI M. V. CHANDRASHEKHAR MURTHY) : Madam, I beg to lay on the table a satement (in English and Hindi) showing the Supplementary Demands for Grants for Expenditure of the Government of Manipur for the year 1993-94.

THE BUDGET (MANIPUR), 1994-95.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI M. V. CHANDRASHEKHAR MURTHY) : Madam, I beg to lay on the Table a statement (in English and Hindi) of the estimated receipts and expenditure of the Government of Manipur for the year 1994-95.

STATUTORY RESOLUTION SEEKING DISAPPROVAL OF THE AIR CORPORATIONS (TRANSFER OF UNDERTAKINGS AND REPEAL) ORDINANCE, 1994 (NO. 4 OF 1994)

THE AIR CORPORATIONS (TRANSFER OF UNDERTAKINGS AND REPEAL) BILL, 1994.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : We now take up the Statutory Resolution seeking disapproval of the Air Corporations (Transfer of Undertakings and Repeal) Ordinance, 1994 (No. 4 of 1994) promulgated by the President on the 29th January, 1994. and the Air Corporations (Transfer of Undertakings and Repeal) Bill, 1994. Shri Jethmalani.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI (Karnataka : I have decided to withdraw my opposition So, I am not moving this Statutory Resolution

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR (Uttar Pradesh) : The next man will move

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Shri Maheshwar Singh.

SHRI MAHESHWAR SINGH (Himachal Pradesh) : Madam, I move the following Resolution :

"That this House disapproved of the Air Corporation (Transfer of Undertakings and Repeal) Ordinance, 1994 (No. 4 of 1994) promulgated by the President on the 29th January, 1994."

[The Vice Chairman (Shri MD Salim) in the Chair]

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, सर्वप्रथम मैं आपके माध्यम से इस माननीय सदन में इस आर्डिनेंस का विशेष विरोध करना चाहूंगा । उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज यह सरकार एक आर्डिनेंसज की सरकार बनकर रह गई है । यह रिकार्ड सिद्ध करता है कि 29 जनवरी, 1994 को मन्त्री महोदय ने अध्यादेश जारी करके 1953 का जो एयर कार्पोरेशंस एक्ट था, उसको रिपील किया है । महोदय, इससे पूर्व मंत्री महोदय 27 अप्रैल, 1992 में दूसरे सदन में इस विधेयक के अमेंडमेंट को प्रस्तुत कर चुके थे, उस पर केवल मात्र चर्चा नहीं हुई थी और ठीक एक साल नौ महीने के बाद सरकार जागी । अगर यह आर्डिनेंस इतना आवश्यक था तो सरकार समय रहते आर्डिनेंस जारी कर देती । लेकिन एक साल नौ महीने न तो सरकार उस अमेंडमेंट पर चर्चा करवा सकी और न उस सदन में चर्चा हुई । मेरे ख्याल से यह संसदीय परम्पराओं के इतिहास में पहला मौका है कि जब किसी सदन के विचारार्थ कोई अमेंडमेंट हो और सरकार दूसरी तरफ अध्यादेश जारी कर दे । मैं इस अध्यादेश का विरोध करता हूं । महोदय, मैं उधर बैठे हुए साथियों को एक बात यह भी बताना चाहूंगा कि जब पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू इस देश के प्रधानमन्त्री थे तो 1950 में माननीय मावलंकर जी, जो लोकसभा के पहले अध्यक्ष थे, उन्होंने भी इन आर्डिनेंसेज का विरोध किया था और उस समय पार्लियामेंटरी अफेयर्स के मन्त्री को एक पत्र लिखा था जिसको मैं यहां क्वोट करते

चाहता हूं। यह पत्र उन्होंने 25 नवम्बर, 1950 को लिखा था और उसमें उन्होंने लिखा था कि—

"The procedure of promulgation of Ordinances is inherently un-democratic. Whether the Ordinance is justifiable or not, the issue of large number of Ordinances has psychologically, a bad effect. People carry an impression that Government is carried on by Ordinances. The House carries a sense of being ignored and the Central Secretariat, perhaps, gets into the habit of slackness which necessitates Ordinances and an impression is created that it is desired to commit the House to a particular legislation."

महोदय, इसके उत्तर में तत्कालीन प्रधानमन्त्री महोदय ने 13 दिसम्बर को लिखा था कि—

"I think all of us, my collegues, will agree with you that the issue of Ordinances is, normally, not desirable and should be avoided except on special and urgent occasions."

महोदय, इसके ठीक 4 साल के बाद, जिस प्रधानमन्त्री का फोटो ये हर दफ्तर में लगाते हैं और देवता समान जिनको मानते हैं और पूजकर चलते हैं, उन्होंने 4 वर्ष के बाद कहा था कि—

"The issue of Ordinances is undemocrate and cannot be justified except in cases of extreme urgency and emergency."

महोदय, जब कि यह बात सर्वविदित थी कि 21 फरवरी को सत्र आरम्भ होगा तो क्या यह सरकार 22 दिन तक सत्र का इन्तजार नहीं कर सकती थी ? कौन सी वह अर्जेंसी थी कि इन 22 दिनों के भीतर ही इनको यह आर्डिनेंस लाना पड़ा ? मैं जानना चाहूंगा आपके माध्यम से मन्त्री महोदय से कि किन कारणों से वे यह आर्डिनेंस लाए जब कि वहां बिल पहले इंट्रोड्यूस हो चुका था, उस पर चर्चा हो सकती थी। कौन सा पैसा आपने बचा लिया और कौन सा आपने सुधार कर लिया इंडियन एयरलाइंस और एयर इंडिया में, यह आप अवश्य बताएंगे, ऐसी मेरी आशा है।

महोदय, जहां तक इस विधेयक के उद्देश्य का सम्बन्ध है, इस विधेयक के उद्देश्यों और कारणों के कथन में मंत्री महोदय ने कहा है कि—

"In the fast developing international air-transport industry, mobilisation of progressively larger funds becomes necessary for all airlines. To meet their growth requirements. Indian Airlines and Air India, both constituted under the Air Corporations Act, 1953, need to tap the capital market for equity funds rather than depend solely on budgetary support from the Government as envisaged under the Act. As a part of the liberalisation set in motion under the new economic policy, private sector investment has also been permitted in the air transport sector. It has, therefore, been found necessary to repeal this Act."

महोदय, यहां कहा गया है कि जो बजटरी प्रोविजन है, वह पर्याप्त नहीं है। मैं जानना चाहूंगा मंत्री महोदय से कि वर्तमान में इंडियन एयरलाइंस और एयर इंडिया के लिए आप कितना बजटरी प्रोविजन करते हैं ? कभी यह प्रोविजन किया गया है, जो कि आपने यहां कह दिया कि काफी नहीं है ? जहां तक प्राइवेट सैक्टर का संबंध है, जिस पार्टी से मैं सम्बन्ध रखता हूं, वह इस चीज का समर्थन करती है लेकिन साथ में हमको एक बात ध्यान में रखनी होगी कि इस निजी क्षेत्र के दरवाजे से कहीं आप मल्टी नेशनल कंपनीज के पास जहां आपने सारा देश आज गिरवी रख दिया है या गिरवी रखने की कोशिश की जा रही है, क्या इस भारत माता का जो आकाश है, इसको भी कहीं आप गिरवी रखने तो नहीं जा रहे हैं ? मुझे लगता है कि मंत्री महोदय इस पिछले दरवाजे से, यह सरकार इस पिछले दरवाजे से मल्टी नेशनल कम्पनीज को आगे लाना चाहती है।

क्या यह सच नहीं है कि 1953 से पहले भी यहां इसी प्रकार की कम्पनियां थीं ? उस समय भी इंडियन एयरलाइन्स कम्पनी थी? उस समय

भी टाटा जैसे बड़े बड़े लोगों की कम्पनियां थीं और वह कौन सी एजेंसी थी, कौन सी वह आवश्यकता थी जिसके फलस्वरूप आपने 1953 में ऐक्ट ला कर सारी कम्पनियों को समाप्त करके कारपोरेशन बनाया। यह भी माननीय मन्त्री महोदय सूचित करेंगे कि उस समय क्या आवश्यकता पड़ी और जो आज आपने पुनः इतने वर्षों के बाद कारपोरेशन को समाप्त करके निजी क्षेत्र को बढावा देने की आड़ से मल्टी नेशनल कम्पनियों को लाने की बात कर रहे हैं, इस पर जरा अपने विचार स्पष्ट करें।

महोदय, क्या यहां पर 1982 तक इंडियन एयरलाइंस मुनाफे में नहीं चल रही थी और आज अगर इंडियन एयरलाइंस घाटे में है तो इसका दायित्व किसके ऊपर है ? क्या मनेजमेंट के ऊपर यह दायित्व है ? मैं नहीं समझता कि यह मनेजमेंट की गलती है बल्कि सीधे-साधे जो सरकार में बैठे हुए लोग हैं, आपकी नीतियों के कारण इंडियन एयरलाइंस और एयरइंडिया आज घाटे में चल रहे हैं। तब तो आप लोगों ने इंडियन एयरलाइंस को घाटे वाले रूटों पर चलने के लिए भी बाध्य किया, सब्सीडाइज्य फ्लाइट्स चलाई, लेकिन सबसिडी का पैसा कभी नहीं दिया। यह सब इसीलिए मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि सरकार का काम केवल व्यापार नहीं है, सरकार का काम लोगों को सुविधाएं प्रदान करना भी है।....

जल भू-तल परिवहन मंत्रालय के राज्य मंत्री (श्री जगदीश टाइटलर) : पैसा कहां से आएगा ?

श्री महेश्वरी सिंह : इसको मैं मानता हूं, पैसा कहां से आएगा आपको यह मानकर चलना चाहिए। जहां तक नार्थ ईस्ट का संबंध है आज वहां पर हवाई जहाज में यात्रा करना कोई लकजरी नहीं है, आज वह आवश्यकता हो गई है। मैं जानना चाहूंगा कि जब आप निजी क्षेत्र को इसके बीच में लाएंगे तो उनकी जरूरतों को किस प्रकार से पूरा करेंगे ? आप कितना प्राइवेट एयर टैक्सी वालों को और प्राइवेट एयरलाइंस वालों को इस बात के लिए बाध्य करेंगे कि वह वहां पर फ्लाइट चलाइए। लेकिन आज आपने क्या कर रखा है। जितने भी प्राफिट वाले रूट थे वह सब आपने निजी कम्पनियों को दे रखे हैं और जो घाटे वाले रूट हैं उनमें इंडियन एयरलाइंस चल रही है तो वह घाटे में नहीं जाएंगे और क्या होगा ? मैं जानना चाहता हूं कि 1953 के ऐक्ट के मुताबिक कोई भी प्राइवेट एयर टैक्सी नहीं चल सकती थी। वह कौन सा कानून था जिसकी आड़ में आप ने दो वर्ष पूर्व एयर टैक्सी चलाना शुरू कर दिया और दो वर्ष से लेकर आज तक आप एयर टैक्सी चलाते रहे जब कि कानून में कोई प्रावधान नहीं था। इस तरह का कानून का खुला उल्लंघन किया जाता रहा तो क्या 22 दिन आप नहीं रुक सकते थे। क्यों इस अध्यादेश की जरूरत पड़ गई ?

जहां तक प्राइवेट एयर टैक्सियों का संबंध है हम स्वयं उसके भुक्तभोगी हैं। हिमाचल प्रदेश में केवल इंडियन एयरलाइंस की फ्लाइट चलती थी, उसके बाद वायुदूत आया, लेकिन आप की कृपा से उसकी भी दुर्दशा हो गई। आपने वायु दूत की हालत क्या कर रखी है, वह भी दिखाई दे रहा है। 181 करोड़ रुपए का घाटा माननीय मंत्री महोदय ने स्वीकार किया था 1992-93 में। इसी हाउस में इसी सत्र में मैंने सवाल पूछा था और मंत्री महोदय ने स्वीकार किया कि 1992-93 में 181 करोड़ के घाटे में था और अब तो और भी घाटा बढ गया होगा। उस समय मंत्री महोदय ने घोषणा कर दी कैबिनेट ने निर्णय ले लिया कि वायुदूत का मर्जर इंडियन एयरलाइंस में कर दिया जाएगा। लेकिन एक साल के बाद भी वह मर्जर नहीं कर पाए। अभी तक वह मामला ज्यों का त्यों पड़ा हुआ है। मैंने इसी सत्र में प्रश्न पूछा था कि आप ने जो वायुदूत का स्टाफ बैठा रखा है। उनकी फ्लाइट बंद करने के बाद, उनको ग्राउंड करने के बाद वह स्टाफ क्या काम कर रहा है, तो मंत्री महोदय ने जवाब दिया है कि वह अभी भी काम कर रहा है, वह आफिस में काम कर रहा

है उड़ान उनके पास कुछ भी नहीं है, 23 स्थानों पर स्टाफ बैठा रखा है, वहां पर आपने अर्चना एयरवेज चला दी है, ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आपको भी इस बात का अनुभव है। मैं यह बात यहां रिकॉर्ड पर लाना चाहूंगा कि, अभी जब आप कुल्लू का टिकट खरीदने के लिए गए तो आपको जवाब दिया गया कि 27 तारीख तक एक भी सीट उपलब्ध नहीं है। महोदय, आज यह एयर टैक्सीज वाले क्या कर रहे हैं, वह मैं बताना चाहूंगा। जहां-जहां इनकी मोनोपोली है, वहां जब जब सीजन लगता है जैसे कि आजकल कुल्लू में हनीमून सीजन चल रहा है तो सारी-की-सारी सीटें-वें उनके एजेंट्स को दे देते हैं। अब एक भी सीट उनके पास नहीं है। इससे आप क्या अंदाजा लगा सकते हैं ? . . . (**व्यवधान**) . . . मैं वायुदूत की नहीं, अर्चना एअरवेज की बात कर रहा हूं । आप जो अल्टरनेटिव देने जा रहे हैं कि एअर टैक्सीज चलेंगी, उसमें आज तो उनकी मोनोपोली नहीं है, लेकिन जब कल उनकी मोनोपोली हो जाएगी तो वह मनमाने ढंग से किराया भी वसूल करेंगे और सीटों के लिए भी हमको उनके रहमो-करम पर रहना पड़ेगा । आज वहां यह हालत हो गयी है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, अब हम किराए की बात करेंगे । जब तक कुल्लू के लिए वायुदूत चलता था तो एक तरफा किराया 2040 रुपए था। मैं अनेकों बार इस सदन में यह मसला उठा चुका हूं कि इतना ज्यादा और सर्वाधिक किराया कहीं और नहीं है जितना कि हम लोग देते थे, लेकिन उसके बाद क्या हुआ ? जबसे वायुदूत प्लेन ग्राउण्ड कर दिए, अर्चना एअरवेज ने एकदम 2342 रुपए किराया वसूल करना शुरू कर दिया । इस सम्बन्ध में मैंने माननीय मन्त्री महोदय के पास आकर शिकायत की कि, मन्त्री महोदय किस कानून के तहत हमसे इतना ज्यादा किराया लिया जा रहा है। मन्त्री महोदय का जवाब था कि जो एयर कार्पोरेशन एक्ट है, वह हमें अधिकृत नहीं करता कि हम उनका किराया निर्धारित करें यह उन्होंने उस समय कहा था । . . . (**व्यवधान**) . . . मन्त्री महोदय स्पष्ट करें कि कहा या नहीं कहा । उन्होंने कहा कि मुझे कोई अधिकार नहीं हैं वर्तमान ऐक्ट के अन्तर्गत कि मैं उनका किराया निर्धारित करूं, लेकिन जब एक्ट पास हो जाएगा तो मेरे हाथ में वह पावर आ जाएगी और मैं इस चीज को देखूंगा कि वह किराया निर्धारित हो। तो आज भी हम इस एक्ट में देख रहे हैं कि कहीं भी इसके लिए प्रावधान नहीं है । मुझे विश्वास है कि मन्त्री महोदय मेरी शंका का निराकरण करेंगे कि निजी क्षेत्र जब बीच में आ जाएगा और मनमाने ढंग से किराया वसूल करना चाहेगा तो आप उसे किस प्रकार से रोकेंगे ? इस सम्बन्ध में मन्त्री प्रकाश डालें क्योंकि इस प्रकार से तो वह लोगों को लूटना शुरू कर देंगे ।

SHRI JAGESH DESAI (Maharashtra) : It is more than that of Delhi-Bombay.

SHRI MAHESHWAR SINGH : Yes, we are paying Rs. 2,340.

उप सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं शिकायत कर चुका हूं, लेकिन उस शिकायत पर भी कभी गौर नहीं हुआ दूसरे, जहां तक इंडियन एयरलाइंस और वायुदूत का सवाल है, जब उनका शेड्यूल बना हुआ है तो उसके मुताबिक उनको फ्लाइट्स ले जानी पड़ती है चाहे पैसेंजर्ज कम हों। हां, अगर मौसम खराब हो जाए तो बात अलग है, लेकिन जब निजी क्षेत्र आ जाएगा फिर क्या होगा ? हम उनके भुक्तभोगी हैं कि जब उनके प्लेन में सवारियां कम होंगी तो किसी भी वक्त अनाउंस कर कह देंगे कि, सॉरी साहब प्लेन में कुछ खराबी आ गयी है, इसलिए वह ग्राउंड हो गया है, अब आप जाइए। तो हमारी छुट्टी हो जाएगी, लेकिन उसके लिए जिम्मेदार कौन होगा ? क्या आपने इसके लिए प्रावधान किया है कि आप उनको बाध्य कर सकेंगे कि वह नियमित रूप से चलें, लेकिन हम उनके रहमो करम पर हो जाएंगे।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इसलिए मैं मन्त्री महोदय से आग्रह करना चाहता हूं कि जहां आपने यह निजी क्षेत्र की बात कही है, आप यह स्पष्ट करें कि क्या जो भी इस प्रकार की मल्टी नेशनल कम्पनीज हैं, उनके लिए आप यह तय करेंगे कि उनको किसी प्रकार का कवर इसमें नहीं दिया जाएगा और अगर मल्टीनेशनल कंपनीज इसी प्रकार आती रहीं तो क्या भारत का आकाश स्वतन्त्र रह पाएगा ? इसलिए मुझे आशा ही नहीं बल्कि पूर्ण विश्वास है कि मन्त्री महोदय मेरा इस शंका समाधान करेंगे और जो यह ऑर्डिनेंस उन्होंने जारी किया है, इसका मैं कड़े शब्दों में विरोध करता हूं ।

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER : Sir, I move :

That the Bill to provide for the transrefer and vesting of the undertakings of Indian Airlines and Air India respectively to and in the companies formed and registered as Indian Airlines Limited and Air India Limited and for matters connected therewith or incidental thereto and also to repeal the Air Corporations Act, 1953, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration.

A statement explaining the circumstances which necessistated promulgation of the Air Corporations (Transfer of Undertakings and Repeal) Ordinance 1994 (4 of 1994) has already been laid.

The Air Corporations (Transfer of Undertakings and Repeal) Bill was introduced in the Lok Sabha a long time ago ; on 4-5-1992. Owing to pressure of business, the Lok Sabha could not take up consideration of the Bill in the remaining part of the Budget Session of 1992. Since then, Shri Madhav Rao Scindia, the former Minister (Civil Aviation & Tourism) who introduced the Bill and Shri Ghulam Nabi Azad, the present Minister repeatedly requested consideration of the Bill at each successive Session. The Lok Sabha, however, was pre-occupied on one count or another. Matters relating to Ayodhya, debates on Mandal Commission, discussions on law and order particularly in the aftermath of the unfortunate bomb blast incidents in Bombay took much time of the House. On 6th August, 1993, the Chairman, in consultation with the Speaker, referred the Bill to the Standing Committee on Transport and Tourism for examination and report. The Committee after detailed examination of the provisions of the Bill and evaluation of the evidence tendered before it, recommended to the Parliament in December, 1993 that the Bill be passed. Thereafter, the Lok Sabha took up the Bill for consideration on 23rd December, 1993 but again could not devote adequate time to debate the Bill and pass it in that session.

The primary purpose of the Bill is to remove monopoly' of the Air Corporations over scheduled air services and restructare the two Corporations into public limited companies to function in a competitive environment. The two Companies, namely, Air India Limited and Indian Airlines Limited were incorporated under the Companies Act so that assets and liabilities of the Corporations could be transferred and vested in these Companies. Care has also been taken to ensure that in the process of restructuring, no dislocation takes place nor the interests of anyone, whether employees, creditors, customers or Government are affected adversely. Requisite safeguards have been bulk into the Bill.

Hon'ble Members know that in late 1992 and early 1993, there were prolonged strikes by pilots of Indian Airlines and flight engineers of Air India. Air services were severely affected. This together with the unfortunate incidents of Ayodhya and bomb blasts of Bombay caused grievous set back to the flow of tourists into India. Credibility of India as a tourist destination suffered.

Concern has been expressed that with the repeal of the Air Corporations Act, doors have been opened for foreign equity participation in domestic airlines and as a result the ownership of the

airlines will pass on to foreigners to the detriment of national interests.

I would like to assure the House that such fears are misplaced. With private investment being made permissible for operation of scheduled air transport services, foreign investment in domestic airlines may be possible but it will not be unfettered. Government have decided that foreign equity participation in this sector will not exceed 40%. It has further been decided that even this limited foreign equity participation will not be automatically permissible. Prior permission would need to be sought from the Government in each case. Thus majority ownership and effective control of the airlines, even private airlines, will always be in Indian hands.

As far as Air India and Indian Airlines are concerned, Minister of Civil Aviation & Tourism has already clarified in the Lok Sabha that Government have no plan to induct foreign equity in the two national carriers. He has said very clearly, and I would like to reiterate that in the case of Air India and Indian Airlines fresh equity will be issued to workers and employees of the companies to enlist their participation in ownership and equities may also be offered to other sections of the public. The stage at which the shares will be listed in the stock market and other details will be decided when the two companies come up with specific schemes.

Faced with this daunting situation, Minister of civil Aviation & Tourism undertook visits to a number of countries In Europe, Asia and Africa between June, 1993 and January 1994 on a reassurance campaign. This campaign yielded rich dividends in that apprehensions about disturbed conditions in India were removed, resulting in arrival of tourists in record numbers in December 1993 and Jnuary 1994. This trend is expected to continue. Diversification of air services in the country is essential to sustain the trend.

In view of the factors that I mentioned, Government felt that there should be no further delay in demonopolising domestic scheduled air services and restructuring the Air Corporations which the Bill sought to achieve. The President, therefore, promulgated the Ordinance to enable the Government to go ahead with operationalisation of the basic elements of the scheme set out in the Air Corporations (Transfer of Undertakings & Repeal) Bill which was awaiting consideration of and passing by the Lok Sabha since May, 1992. Meanwhile, the Lok Sabha has passed the Bill on 23-2-94 and it is now before this august House.

I beg to move that the Bill to provide for transfer and vesting of the undertakings of Indian Airlines and Air India respectively to and in the companies formed and registered as Indian Airlines Limited and Air Inda Limited and for matters connected therewith or Incident thereto and also to repeal the Air Corporations Act, 1953 as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration.

The Question were proposed

श्री नारायण प्रसाद गुप्ता (मध्य प्रदेश) उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, अच्छा होता आज इस बहस में हमारे सिविल एविऐशन मिनिस्टर भी यहां पर होते और सारी बहस सुनते। मुझे नहीं मालूम कि उनकी क्या मजबूरी है। यह जो बिल प्रस्तुत किया गया है, देश में कमोवेश इसका स्वागत हुआ। जहां तक भारतीय जनता पार्टी का संबंध है, सरकार की ओर से पेश होने वाले हर बिल का विरोध करना, यह कोई हमारा काम नहीं है। हम उसका गुण दोष के आधार पर समर्थन या विरोध करने में विश्वास रखते हैं। बहुत हार्ड एंड फास्ट तरीके से नहीं चला जा सकता। सरकार जब कोई बिल लाती है तो हम अपनी मंशा बताते हैं, कुछ शंकाएं होती हैं, कुछ डाऊट्स होते हैं, कुछ बातें अस्पष्ट होती हैं जो बिल में आती हैं। उनका निराकरण करना भी सरकार का काम होता है। इसी लाइट में हम इस बिल

पर बहस करने जा रहे हैं। यह बिल अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण है और मैं इसको अत्यधिक महत्व देता हूं। लोकसभा की बैठकें लगातार हो रही हैं तो इस आर्डिनेंस की क्यों आवश्यकता पड़ी ? राष्ट्रपति जी को इस आर्डिनेंस को लाने के लिए क्यों मजबूर किया गया ? यह कोई अच्छी परम्परा नहीं है। इसकी निन्दा हुई है। इसको उचित नहीं समझा गया है। मैं आशा करता हूं कि सरकार भविष्य में इन बातों से बचेगी जो शंकाएं पैदा करती हैं। सवाल यह है कि आप कारपोरेशंस को कम्पनीज में बदल रहे हैं। सवाल यह है कि व्यवस्था बदली जा रही है। अब व्यवस्था बदलने की आवश्यकता क्यों पड़ी, इसके अनेकों कारण हैं। उनसे हम सहमत भी हैं। 1953 का बना हुआ एक्ट और सरकार की ढुलमुल नीतियां। जबकि हमारे सिविल एविऐशन मिनिस्टर माधवराव सिंधिया जी हुआ करते थे यदि मैं गलती नहीं कर रहा हूं तो सरकार ने अपना एक नीति वक्तव्य दिया कि प्राइवेट एयर बस और एयर टैक्सी आपरेटर्ज को भी ओपन स्काई पालिसी के अन्तर्गत लाया जाएगा। उनको अनुमति दी जा रही है। यह समझ में नहीं आया जब 1953 का एक्ट इन सब बातों को अलाऊ नहीं करता तो फिर उस समय कौन से ऐसे निहित स्वार्थ थे या आवश्यकता थी कि मन्त्री जी ने बगैर कानून में परिवर्तन किये हुए प्राइवेट एयर टैक्सी आपरेटर्ज को यह अनुमति कैसे दी। गत दो वर्षों से यह सब अनाधिकृत धन्धे चल भी रहे हैं। यद्यपि उनकी भी कुछ शिकायतें हैं। शैड्यूल आप प्रकाशित नहीं कर सकते, किराया आप प्रकाशित नहीं कर सकते। इससे बहुत उलझने पैदा हुई थीं। अच्छा हुआ इस बिल के द्वारा वह उलझनें अवश्य खत्म हो रही हैं। मुख्य प्रश्न यह है कि इन कारपोरेशंस को कम्पनियों में बदलने से कौन कौन सी समस्याएं पैदा होंगी जिनको सरकार को फेस करना पड़ेगा। मैं समझता हूं कम्पनियां बनने के बाद सरकार के सामने कड़ी चुनौती होगी और कड़ी स्पर्धा होगी।

इस बात को सरकार को भली भान्ति समझ लेना चाहिए कि जब मैं कड़ी स्पर्धा की बात कहता हूं तो बहुत ठीक तरीके से सावधानी से अपने इस एक्ट की जो मंशा है उसके मुताबिक आपको मूव करना पड़ेगा।

आखिर कारपोरेशन हो या कम्पनी हो इन सबका हेतु क्या है। हेतु यात्रियों को अधिक से अधिक अच्छी सुविधाएं उपलब्ध कराना। वायु सेवाओं का देश की सुरक्षा से भी सम्बन्ध है; उस समय उनका उपयोग करना, कर्मचारियों को संतुष्ट रखना, देश के हितों का ध्यान रखना और सरकार का वर्चस्व कायम रखना है। इतनी शर्तें पूरी करते हुए आप कम्पनीज बनाइए और फिर हम उसको देखेंगे। जनता देखेगी कि उसके मुताबिक, कम्पनियां बनने के बाद सफल हो रही हैं कि नहीं। इसलिए इसके कुछ जो मुख्य अंग हैं, इस योजना को सफल करने के लिए, उनमें हैं इसके कर्मचारीगण। वायु सेवा के जो कर्मचारी हैं उनकी तरफ से यद्यपि इसका विरोध हुआ है, फिर भी उनमें भी भिन्नता है। वे सब एकमत नहीं हैं। किन्तु उनको आशंका है कि जो सुविधाएं, सेवा शर्तें आज उनके साथ जुड़ी हुई हैं, कम्पनियां बनने के बाद ये सुविधाएं उनसे छीन ली जायेंगी, या कम हो जायेगी। इस आशंका के कारण वायु सेवा के कर्मचारियों का मनोबल काफी गिरा है। यह एक चिन्ता का विषय है क्योंकि पिछली हड़तालों में हमने देखा कि वायु सेवा के कर्मचारी जब हड़ताल पर जाते हैं तो लाखों, करोड़ों का सरकार को चूना लगता है और एक बड़ा संकट भी पैदा होता है। इसलिए वायु सेवा के कर्मचारियों का मनोबल कायम कैसे रखा जा सकेगा इसकी सरकार को इस बिल के द्वारा चिन्ता करनी चाहिए। जो उनकी सेवा शर्तें उनके अधिकार उनकी सुविधाएं हैं उनमें उनको यह लगना चाहिए कि कम्पनियां बनने के बाद हमारा कुछ छीना नहीं गया है। कुछ सुविधाएं हमारी बढ़ गयी है। मैं समझता हूं कि सरकार पहली बात में इस

बात को चिन्ता करेगी कि कर्मचारियों की सुविधाएं बराबर ध्यान में रखी जायें और वे अति उत्साह से कम्पनियां बनने के बाद भी जो व्यवस्था बदलेगी तो उसमें भी अच्छे, ऊंचे मनोबल से काम कर सकें ताकि हमारी कम्पनियां कामयाब हों ।

दूसरा, इसी के साथ जुड़ा हुआ प्रश्न है कि कर्मचारियों में अनुसूचित जाति और जनजाति तथा पिछड़े वर्ग के लोगों ने यह आशंकाएं व्यक्त की हैं कि भर्ती के समय जब कम्पनियां बन जायेंगी तो उनकी उपेक्षा कर दी जायेगी, उनको आरक्षण वगैरह का कोई लाभ नहीं मिलेगा । ये जो आशंकाएं प्रकट कर रहे हैं, ये ठीक है और सरकार ने अपने इस एक्ट में इस विधेयक में, इस बिल में इस बात की व्यवस्था करनी चाहिए कि जो उनका कोटा इन सेवाओं में है वह भी कम्पनियों में जैसे का तैसा कायम रहेगा । फिर उसके बाद उन्होंने आशंकाएं व्यक्त की हैं कि जो बोर्ड बनेगा उन बोर्डों में महिलाएं रहेंगी कि नहीं, उन बोर्डों में अनुसूचित जाति, जनजाति और पिछड़े वर्ग सदस्य नियुक्त किये जायेंगे कि नहीं या कम्पनियां बनने के बाद ये निरंकुश हो जायेंगी, मनमाने ढंग से काम करेंगी और लोगों को भारी निराशा होगी । ये जो शंकाएं व्यक्त की गयी हैं, सरकार को इन शंकाओं को दूर करना चाहिए और बनने वाले बोर्डों में इन सबकी उचित प्रतिनिधित्व दिया जाना चाहिए । यह मैं आवश्यकता महसूस करता हूं । फिर कम्पनियां बनने के बाद सवाल आयेगा पैसे का, उनकी प्राप्त करने के स्रोत का । बाहर से मांगने से कोई स्रोत की पूर्ति नहीं होती । जब देखिए, भिखारी, बाहर के मल्टीनेशनल्स, ये, वो, फारेनर । यह सब संकट खड़ा हुआ है । इससे सरकार को बचना चाहिए और देश में ही अधिक से अधिक भागीदारी करें इसका चिंतन करना चाहिए । मैं समझता हूं कि पूरे सदन की यह राय होगी और इससे हम सहमत होंगे कि विदेशी पैसा पहले तो बहुत अच्छा लगता है, काफी सा आयेगा, यह आयेगा, वह आयेगा, बाद में मल्टीनेशनल्स जब पैसा लाते हैं, अपनी तकनीक लाते हैं तो वे हमारे ऊपर हावी भी होते हैं । हम कहीं के नहीं रहते । इस सम्बन्ध में मारुति लिमिटेड का उदाहरण दिया जाता है । यह कहा जाता था कि सरकार का वर्चस्व इस पर रहेगा । पर सरकार का वर्चस्व है क्या । उनके इक्विटी शेयर्स कितने हैं ? क्या वे कंट्रोल कर सकते हैं, नियन्त्रण कर सकते हैं और ऐसा न हो कि कम्पनियां बनने के बाद वायु सेवा का भी यही हाल न हो । इसलिए बी०जे०पी० की मांग है . . . । कि इन बनने वाली कम्पनियों में कार्पोरेशन के स्थान पर सरकार का वर्चस्व कायम रहना चाहिए और इसकी गारंटी दी जानी चाहिए । कम से कम 51 प्रतिशत शेयर हमारे रहना चाहिए । फिर बड़ी अच्छी बात है, मैं इसके स्वागत करूंगा कि कर्मचारियों को भी इसमें सहभागी बनाया जा रहा है । यह एक वैलकम करने लायक स्टैप है और यह बहुत बड़ी बात है और इस आधार पर उनकी रुचि और मनोबल बढ़ेगा । मैं इस सरकार के इस कदम का अवश्य स्वागत करूंगा, लेकिन इसके साथ कथनी और करनी और आते-जाते जिस तरह से स्वरूप बिगड़ता चला जाता है सरकार को पहले से ही बहुत सावधान रहना पड़ेगा, अन्यथा अभी तक तो मोनोपली थी और इसके कारण हम जैसे चाहते थे वैसे करते थे । प्राइवेट एयर बस आपरेटर्स और एयर टैक्सी आपरेटर्स को रोक सकते थे । हम चाहे जैसे कानून-कायदे बना सकते थे, लेकिन खुली स्पर्द्धा के बाद यह बड़ी चुनौती रहेगी और इसलिए सरकार का वर्चस्व, कर्मचारियों के हितों की रक्षा और इसके अलावा देश का पैसा ही इसमें अधिकतर लगे इस बात की चिन्ता और इसके बाद जिस बात को मैं कहना चाहता हूं वह है कि अनुसूचित जाति और जनजाति के लोगों की भर्ती में पूरे-पूरे उनको आरक्षण का लाभ वायु सेवा के जो यात्री हैं उनकी सुविधाओं में वृद्धि, लोगों को इससे कुछ मतलब नहीं है कि आप कार्पोरेशन चला रहे हैं या कम्पनी द्वारा हवाई सेवाएं चला

रहे हैं। सरकार अगर चला रही है तो जनता देखेगी कि पहले से कुछ अधिक सुविधाएं इस समय मिलनी आरम्भ हुई हैं, लोग यह महसूस किस तरह से कर सकेंगे यह काम सरकार के सोचने का है। अन्यथा स्पर्द्धा में आने के बाद कोई आसान नहीं होगा। यदि इस स्पर्द्धा में कूदेंगे तो या तो निकल जायेंगे और स्पर्द्धा में सफल भी हो जायेंगे अन्यथा भारी नुकसान का भी सामना देश को करना पड़ सकता है।

मैं अब अधिक समय हाउस का नहीं लेना चाहता, लेकिन इन शर्तों के साथ, मैं इस बिल का समर्थन करना चाहता हूं।

डा० बापू कालदाते : (महाराष्ट्र) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं इस अध्यादेश का और इस कानून का सख्त विरोध करने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूं।.... (**व्यवधान**) अध्यादेश के हद तक बहुत कुछ बातें हमारे सम्माननीय साथियों ने कही हैं इसके लिये इसमें ज्यादा जिक्र मैं नहीं करूंगा। लेकिन यह बात जो करना चाहता हूं कि जो पुराने उद्धरण उन्होंने आपने सामने पेश किए पंडित जी के जमाने के, लेकिन मैं यह मानकर चल रहा हूं कि कुछ साल तक आपने गांधी जी को दफना दिया, अब आपकी नीति पंडित जी को दफनाने शुरू हो गई है। यह सारा अध्यादेश और जिस ढंग से इस 1953 के कानून को आप वापस लेने का प्रस्ताव ला रहे हैं वह दूसरा कुछ नहीं है। एक-एक करके जो भी स्वतन्त्रता आन्दोलन के सिद्धान्त थे, जो मूल्य थे, उन सब मूल्यों को कुचलने का प्रयास यह सरकार गए पांच साल से कर रही है यह सरकार की दूसरी कोई नीति नहीं है।... (**व्यवधान**) मैं बिल्कुल गुस्से में नहीं कह रहा हूं, यह भी आपसे कहता हूं। मैं गुस्से में नहीं हूं।... (**व्यवधान**) दुःखी बहुत हूं। क्योंकि उस स्वतन्त्रता आन्दोलन से हम जुड़े हुए हैं। हम सियासत में 1942 में आए जब इस देश में एक नया माहौल था, नई संकल्पनाएं थीं, नया वातावरण था, नई उम्मीद थी, नई आकांक्षा थी, नई प्रेरणा थी, नया समाज देखने का एक सपना था। हम गए पांच साल से देख रहे हैं, मैं बहुत कम बोलता हूं इस सदन में मैं पांच साल से देख रहा हूं कि सारी उम्मीदों को चकनाचूर करने का लगातार प्रयास यह सरकार कर रही है। कौन सा भी देख लीजिए, मैं अगर कहूं कि जैसे यू०एन०ओ० हर साल सैलिब्रेट करती है, कोई महिलाओं का साल होता है, कोई बच्चों का साल होता है, यह साल आदिवासियों का है वैसा इस सरकार ने 1994 का साल, यह प्राइवेटाइजेशन का साल सैलिब्रेट करने की हालत में अब यह सरकार पहुंच गई गई है। यह निजीकरण का साल है। कुछ भी चीज ले लो निजीकरण। खदान की मीटिंग चल रही है, आपकी वह खदान वालों की, माइन्स वालों की। किसके लिए चल रहा है? निजीकरण कैसे लाएं। कुछ भी करो—बैंकिंग में, निजीकरण कैसे लाएं। रेलवे में जो लॉकर वाले हैं, जोकि सामान रखते हैं, उसका निजीकरण कैसे करें। केटरिंग का निजीकरण कैसे करें। यह अजीब चीज चल रही है देश में।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं सैकण्ड फाइव इयर प्लान की बात कहना चाहता हूं। जब हमने सार्वजनिक उपक्रमों की बात की थी, उस समय पंडित जी ने कहा था कि हमारे देश के सार्वजनिक उपक्रम इस देश के आर्थिक परिवर्तन के केन्द्र-बिन्दु होंगे।

The public sector undertakings are the pivot of the change of our society.

आप लोग भूल गए उन बातों को। इसी उद्देश्य से हमने सार्वजनिक उपक्रम इस देश में खड़े किए थे। ये 30-30 साल तक मजदूरों की मेहनत और लोगों के सहकार्य से खड़े किए। अब उन्हें ध्वस्त करने का प्रयास एक साल से जारी है। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं मजाक में कहता हूं कि यह नरसिंह राव जी की सरकार

is nothing but a demolition squad of public sector undertakings in this country. You are a demolition squad.

लेकिन इससे आप संस्थाओं को हाथ नहीं लगा रहे हैं, इस देश के सिद्धान्तों को, इस देश के मूल्यों को धक्का लगाने का काम कर रहे हैं। इस कारण हमारे मन में दुःख है न कि इसलिए कि आप सत्ता में बैठे हैं। इसके लिए मुझे दुःख नहीं है। सत्ता में तो लोग जिन्हें भेजेंगे, वह बैठेंगे। आज आप सत्ता में रहेंगे, लेकिन जिस ढंग से आप काम कर रहे हैं, उससे इस देश को संवारना मुश्किल हो जाएगा, यह बात हम जैसे थोड़े-बहुत विचार करने वाले लोगों के मन में आती है। इसलिए इस विधेयक को देखकर हमें बहुत-बहुत कष्ट होता है, यह बात मैं आपको कहना चाहता हूं। इसीलिए मैंने कहा कि यह जब आप कर रहे हैं तो दोनों तरफ से, एक तो जो लोकतांत्रिक प्रक्रिया है, उसको भी तोड़ने-मरोड़ने का प्रयास चल रहा है और दूसरे जो सिद्धान्त और मूल्य हैं, उनको भी तोड़ने-मरोड़ने का काम आप कर रहे हैं। यह तोड़ने-मरोड़ने का सवाल मैं इसलिए उठा रहा हूं कि इस अध्यादेश की कोई आवश्यकता नहीं थी। महोदय, अध्यादेश कब आते हैं ?

When there is an emergency, an urgency.

जैसेकि पंडित जी ने कहा था कि अगर एजेंसी हो या कोई इमरजेंसी हो तो अध्यादेश निकाले जाने चाहिए। इस समय क्या इमरजेंसी आ गयी थी, वह हमारी समझ में नहीं आई। वैसे एअर टैक्सी वालों को इजाजत तो आपने पहले ही दे रखी थी। आपने हमें फंसाया और इस सदन को विश्वास में नहीं लिया आपने चोरी-छिपे, हमारी और देश की धोखा देकर उनको कहा कि उड़ाते रहिए, चलाते रहिए प्राइवेट एअर-टैक्सीज, हम कुछ नहीं करेंगे। इसी को कहेंगे कि ऊंट शेड्यूल नहीं आए।

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER : It was the previous Government.

SHRI BAPU KALDATE : We have not started.

मैंने ही पूछा था माधव राव जी को, मुझे याद है इस बात की। उन्होंने कहा था कि, नहीं हम एअर टैक्सीज को इजाजत देने वाले हैं। इसलिए हम कहते हैं कि, छिपकर आपने यह क्यों किया ? इमरजेंसी क्या थी, आप बताइए ?

What is the emergency or urgency to bring an adhyadesh ?

अध्यादेश की आवश्यकता क्या थी ? उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, अध्यादेश तभी आ सकता है जब कि कल कोई बात हो जाती है, जिसके बारे में पता नहीं था। इसके लिए वह तुरन्त सदन के सामने आना चाहिए। यह मैं समझ सकता हूं, जिसके बारे में पता नहीं था। इसके लिए वह तुरन्त सदन के सामने आना चाहिए। यह मैं समझ सकता हूं लेकिन एक बात 92 से चल रही है, आज नहीं तो कल हो जाएगी। नहीं, तो आपके पास शक्ति भी है, उस सदन में और यहां भी आपके साथी हैं जो कि आपका समर्थन करने के लिए यहां बैठे हैं। तो आप इसकी चिन्ता क्यों कर रहे थे ? वह चिन्ता इसलिए थी कि जब अध्यादेश बनता है तो अग्रिमता आती है, इसके लिए प्रायोरिटी मिलती है और अग्रिमता जब आती है तो आप चाहते हैं कि संसद आपके अध्यादेश के ऊपर अंगूठा लगाने का काम करे। उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, यह बात लोकतान्त्रिक प्रक्रिया की दृष्टि से अच्छी बात नहीं है। यह आपने ठीक नहीं किया। इस ढंग से सरकार नहीं चलनी चाहिए। यह कर के आप इस विधेयक को यहां लाए हैं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं दो बातों की ओर आपका ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूं कि हम सार्वजनिक उपक्रमों के सशक्त पक्षधर हैं हम इनकी खामियां भी जानते हैं। मैं जानता हूं कि इंडियन एयर लाइंस में क्या-क्या होता है ? हम नहीं जानते ऐसा मत समझिए, लेकिन सार्वजनिक उपक्रमों के लिये जो आवश्यकताएं थीं जिनके कारण हमने इन्हें शुरू किया था पंडित जी के जमाने में सार्वजनिक उपक्रमों के दो उद्देश्य होते हैं— एक तो उसका सामाजिक दायित्व और दूसरा उद्देश्य शोषण से मुक्ति। हमने उस समय प्रायवेटाइजेशन का क्यों विरोध किया ?

क्या डालमिया जी की कम्पनी नहीं चल रही थी ? क्या बिरला जी की कम्पनी उस समय नहीं थी ? क्या टाटा उस समय आपरेट नहीं करते थे ? आपने सारों को इकट्ठा करके इंडियन एअर लाइन्स और अएर इंडिया बनाया और अब फिर से उनके हाथ में सौंपने जा रहे हैं । डालमिया जी की फिर से लाइन शुरू करने के लिए यहां आए हैं । जो कल तक अच्छा था, आज उसमें क्या बिगाड़ आ गया ? आप जो दलीलें देते हैं सरकार की तरफ से, उन दलीलों से तो मैं परेशान हो जाता हूं । सारी पुरानी एनुअल रिपोर्ट आप पढ़िए इंडियन एअरलाइन्स की और सिविल एविएशन मिनिस्टरी की । सिविल एविऐशन की सारी रिपोर्ट आप देखिए, इसमें सभी बातें अच्छी लिखी हैं । खामियों के बारे में कहा है कि यह खामियां दूर करेंगे, लेकिन हमारा यह पब्लिक अण्डरटेकिंग दुनिया में अच्छा अंडरटेकिंग है और है भी । मैं इस बात को मानता हूं कि

India has a name in the World.

मान्यवर, स्ट्राइक हुई, यह कारण नहीं हो सकता कि इसको प्राइवेट हाथों में आप दे दें । हो सकता है कि स्ट्राइक के कारण सही नहीं होंगे, लेकिन अगर इस देश में कानून की व्यवस्था चलेगी तो आज नहीं तो कल प्राइवेट कम्पनियों में भी स्ट्राइक हो सकती है । यह जरूरी नहीं है कि प्राइवेट इंडस्ट्रीज में स्ट्राइक नहीं होती है । स्ट्राइक तो कहीं पर भी हो सकती है । उसके कारण ढूंढना, उनका निराकरण करना, उसके लिए व्यवस्था करना अलग बात है, लेकिन यह दलील पेश करते रहना कि इसी कारण हमको अब इस तरफ जाना है तो इसका मतलब आपका भी कलेक्टिव बारगेनिंग के ऊपर विश्वास कम हो रहा है ।

मान्यवर, दो बातें हैं, सामाजिक दायित्व की बात है और शोषण से मुक्ति की बात है । हमने प्राइवेटाइजेशन का क्या इसलिए विरोध नहीं किया था कि प्राइवेट कम्पनी में मुनाफा is the basic interest. मुनाफे की प्रेरणा निजी क्षेत्र की मुख्य प्रेरणा होती है और अगर मुनाफे की प्रेरणा मुख्य हो जाती है तो सामाजिक दायित्व कम हो जाता है । यह मुनाफे की प्रेरणा कम हो और सामाजिक दायित्व ज्यादा हो, इसके लिए ही हमने सार्वजनिक उपक्रम शुरू किए और आप इनको बर्बाद करके नई प्रेरणा की तरफ, फिर से एक बार मुनाफाखोरी की प्रेरणा की तरफ इस देश को ले जाने का प्रयास कर रहे हैं । यह तो उल्टी गंगा बह रही है ।

मैंने मजाक में ऐसा कहा था कि कांग्रेस की हालत बहुत बुरी हो गई । एक तरफ तो . . . .

The pivotal point in the Indian economy was the public sector.

Now they say, "Privatisaion is the only solution in this country."

है क्या ? क्योंकि मुझे इसमें यह लगता है कि अगर यह बातें आप करेंगे तो ऐसा होगा, मैं मजाक में कल परसों ही एक स्टुडेण्ट के सामने कह रहा था कि यह गवर्नमेंट फिर से एडम स्मिथ के जमाने में ले जा रही है क्योंकि एडम स्मिथ ही थे, जिससे कैपिटलिज्म का जन्म हुआ है, ऐसा लोग मानते हैं । और जिसके कारण यह एक नया सिद्धान्त निकल गया समाजवाद का । मैं आज भी समाजवादी हूं और मैं विश्वास करता हूं कि समता के बगैर समाज चल नहीं पाएगा । इस पर मेरा पूरा भरोसा है । . . . . (**व्यवधान**) . . . . आप भी हैं पुराने जमाने के साथी । लाल टोपी वाले भी हमारे ही साथी रहे । यह टोपी ही समाजवादी की निशानी है । मैं तो कहता हूं कि आज तो समाजवाद का उच्चारण करना भी जैसे एक डर की बात हो गई है ।

I stand as a democratic socialist.

मैं इस पर विश्वास करता हूं और इसीलिए विश्वास करता हूं कि आज की दुनिया में इसके अलावा कोई चारा नहीं है । हम शायद मार भी खा सकते हैं, हम पीछे भी जाएंगे, लेकिन इस

दृष्टि से अगर हम विचार करते हैं, तो इसके लिए दूसरा कोई चारा नहीं है। इसका हमें दुःख है कि उस समाजवादी आधार की, लोकतन्त्र की व्यवस्था की और सार्वजनिक उपक्रमों के बारे में सामाजिक दायित्व के संदर्भ में जो भूमिका हमने ली थी उसको एक तरफ हटाकर आज जिस ओर जा रहे हैं, उससे आपका क्या फायदा होगा, मुझे मालूम नहीं, लेकिन आने वाले दिनों में देश का नुकसान होगा। इसकी तरफ मैं आपको इंगित करना चाहता हूं।

अब जो बयान, जो दलीलें आई हैं, मेरे पास एक कमेटी की रिपोर्ट भी है। इधर आपने लिखा है उद्देश्यों में, कि भाई, क्या करें इसको बजटरि सपोर्ट की बहुत आवश्यकता होती है। हमको एक रिपोर्ट दिखाओ, 1953 से लेकर आज तक सरकार ने क्या बजटरि सपोर्ट उनको किया है। सेल्फ जनरेशन, वही उनके पैसे इकट्ठा करते थे और इनके पैसे के जरिए वह अपना काम कर लेते थे। इनकी क्रेडिबिल्टि थी और आज आपके आफीसर लोग क्या कहते हैं? आपको बता दूं पढ़कर। यह कमेटी के सामने जब गए, तब इन्होंने कहा कि :—

Over the years, when the two Corporations registered massive growth, they were handicapped because of lack of budget support and the public perception of inadequate service.

अगर पब्लिक परसेप्शन आफ इनएडिक्वेट सर्विस हो तो इसकी जिम्मेदारी किस पर है कौन चलाते थे? अगर आपको परसेप्शन नहीं है तो इसके लिए सार्वजनिक उपक्रमों को निरस्त किया जाए, उनको निकाल दीजिए जिनके पास यह पब्लिक परसेप्शन नहीं थी, उनको निकालिए, इसको आप क्यों डिमॉलिश कर रहे हैं? जिनके पास परसेप्शन नहीं थी, उन अधिकारियों को निकाल दीजिए जो ब्यूरोक्रेटिक ढंग से चलाते थे, उनको निकाल दीजिए, इंडियन एयर-लाइंस और एअर इंडिया को बर्खास्त करने का काम क्यों कर रहे हैं?

This is denigration of the two reputed institutions like Air India and Indian Airlines.

मैं इस पर गर्व करता हूं, मुझे इसकी खामियां मालूम है तो भी मैं कहता हूं कि हमारे सार्वजनिक उपक्रम, यहां तक कि उन्होंने अपने पैसे कट्ठे करने के लिये प्रयास किए

They could have managed had they gone to other banks for money.

यह किसने कहा कि कंस्टेंट है, बजटरी सपोर्ट नहीं है, इसके लिए इसको बर्खास्त कर देना चाहिए? मुझे लगता है कि उससे होगा क्या? यह भी आपको मालूम है कि 1988-89 तक तो वे फायदे में थे। 1987-88 में इनका 75 करोड़ का प्राफिट है, 1988-89 में 56 करोड़ का है, इसके बाद घाटा शुरू हुआ, यह हम जानते हैं। इसके कारण भी मैं जानता हूं। हमारे जमाने में सारे 320 ग्राऊंड हो गए, इससे नुकसान हो गया। स्ट्राइक हो गई, इससे भी थोड़ा नुकसान हुआ होगा। लेकिन इसके कारण और है, फ्यूल के दाम बढ़ गए तो उसमें इंडियन एयरलाइंस या एयर इंडिया क्या करेगी? फ्यूल के दाम बढ़ गए, टोटल कास्ट ऑफ लिविंग बढ़ गई, जो आपको एम्प्लाइज को पैसे देने होते हैं उसकी कीमत बढ़ गई तो इसके लिए एयर इंडिया और इंडियन एयरलाइंस कैसे जिम्मेदार हो सकते हैं, सरकार जिम्मेदार हो सकती है।

Malpractices, wrong policies, all these have led to the present state of affairs. This is not the responsibility of the employees. It is the responsibility of the Government.

अब जो होगा, इससे क्या हो जाएगा? अब क्या चल रहा है, आप भी जानते हैं, इसी सदन में चर्चा हो गई। जो रूट्स हैं, हमको एक रूट बताइए, जैसा कि आपने कहा था, अभी हमारे मित्र जो कुल्लू से आते हैं, उन्होंने भी कहा कि प्राइवेटाइजेशन होगा तो क्या हो रहा है आप देखिए न। जो कंपनी "अर्चना" नाम की

है, उसकी प्रार्थना करते-करते लोग थक रहे हैं। यह "अर्चना" की हालत देखी है आपने ? मनमानी कर सकते हैं। जब प्राइवेट वालों के ऊपर कोई नियन्त्रण नहीं होंगे तो इससे बुरी हालत हो जाएगी। कम से कम पब्लिक अंडरटेकिंग्स के लिए फोरम तो है। लोक सभा में बात हो सकती है, हम सरकार के ऊपर दबाव डाल सकते हैं। इनको क्या मतलब है आपके सामाजिक दायित्व से ? यह तो जहां पैसा मिलेगा, वहां जाने की कोशिश करेंगे। एक रूट बताइए हमको, कुल्लू वाला छोड़कर, जैसे औरंगाबाद है, कौन प्राइवेट जा रहा है वहां पर ? सब दिल्ली, बम्बई, बंगलौर, मद्रास, यह जो चौकड़ी है, वहीं घूम रहे हैं, इसी में कम्पीटीशन करते रहेंगे आपके साथ और जो पैसा आपको मिलना चाहिए, यह लूट लेंगे। लूटने के लिये आपने देखा है, यह क्या-क्या कर रहे हैं? प्राइवेट में फैशन शो चल रहा है, आपको मालूम है ? यानी लड़कियों के कपड़े कम करना, ज्यादा पहनाना, उतार देना, इससे लोगों को लाना है। यह जो नया उपभोक्तावाद है

The new trend of consumerism will spoil the country.

यह जो नया उपभोक्तावाद है, इसकी लालसा जगाकर, लोगों को लालच देकर कि आइए हम फैशन शो दिखा रहे हैं, हम सवेरे आपको ड्रिंक्स दे रहे हैं, यह क्या है ? लोगों की लालसा को उछालकर उनसे पैसा खींचना और उसकी कमाई के जरिए इस देश में लोगों को मुनाफे की लूट करने की सहूलियत सरकार इस प्राइवेटाइजेशन के जरिए दे रही है। आप इस पर क्या रोक लगाने वाले हैं ? आप हमें बताइए तो सही कि आप इनका क्या करने वाले हैं ? उनके कौन-कौन से कंट्रोल आपके हाथ में हैं ? एक दफे मुक्ति का मतलब यह है कि धनिकों के लिए मुक्ति और लुटेरों के लिए मुक्ति और हमारे लिए बाध्यता हो जाएगी। हम इसको बर्दाश्त नहीं करेंगे। जो मुक्ति के नाम पर गरीबों की बाध्यता बढ़ाएगा और मुक्ति के नाम पर शोषण की प्रक्रिया फिर से जारी करेगा, उस मुक्ति का मुखालफत इस देश में करते रहेंगे यह भी बात इस संदर्भ में मैं कहना चाहता हूं। मैं यह भी जानता हूं, मुझे तो डर यह है कि एक दफे आपने यह काम शुरू कर दिया न, तो होगा इतना ही कि जो इंडियन एयर लाइंस और एयर इंडिया आपकी कम्पनियां हैं उस पर केवल मेंटीनेंस का काम रहेगा—मरम्मत करो, बाकी कुछ काम ही नहीं बचेगा। हवाई जहाज से जाने वाले तो कोई गरीब लोग होते नहीं हैं। अगर ज्यादा लालसा का उपभोग वे पा जाएंगे तो उधर ही जाते रहेंगे, फिर हमारे पास क्यों आयेंगे। अगर वे यही करते रहेंगे तो अपना काम यही मेंटीनेंस का ही रहेगा कि उनका विमान दुरुस्त करो, उनका नट बोल्ट ठीक-ठाक करो। उसमें कहीं ऑयल नहीं है तो उसमें जरा थोड़ा सा ऑयल डाल दो और देखो कि यह ठीक ढंग से डालमिया सेठ और जो-जो बड़े सेठों के हाथ में आप दे रहे हैं, उनकी लूट का तरीका बहुत बेहतर ढंग से चले, फैशन शो लेकर के चले .....(व्यवधान)

श्री जगेश देसाई : और वह भी कम दाम पर। **Mr. Minister, how much does the National Airports Authority take as service charges ?**

डा० बापू कालदाते : इसकी आप क्या करने जा रहे हैं। इसका कोई प्रावधान है क्या, हमको जरा बताइए। जब आप निजीकरण की बात करते हैं, एक विधेयक लेकर हमारे सामने आते हैं, 1953 को निरस्त करने के लिये आते हैं, हमको यह बताइए कि इसके बारे में आपने क्या सोचा है ? हमको कोई मतलब नहीं है कि इक्विटी शेयर में इसके कितने होंगे उसके इतने होंगे। यह सब हम जानते हैं। आपके भारुति को नहीं जानते क्या ? कितने ढोल पिटाए थे आप लोगों ने। भारुति का नेशनलाइजेशन हो गया। क्या कम ढोल पिटाए थे। हमने उसका विरोध नहीं किया। लेकिन हमने उसकी राजनीतिक भूमिका का जरूर विरोध किया। हमने

सार्वजनिक उपक्रम बनाने का विरोध नहीं किया। उस पर इक्विटी 24 परसेंट था, फिर 49 उनकी हो गई और 51 आपकी। आज क्या हालत है मारुति की? फिर 50-50 हो गया, आपका आधा—उनका आधा। हमको इसमें कोई आपके ऊपर भरोसा नहीं है। आज आप कहेंगे कि इक्विटी हमारे हाथ में रहेगी, जैसा मारुति का आपने किया वैसा आप इंडियन एयर लाइंस, एयर इंडिया का भी कर सकते हैं। आप में इतनी कुशलता है लोगों को डिसीव करने की, इतनी आप में शक्ति है, इस बात को हम समझ चुके हैं। तो क्या आप भरोसा दे सकते हैं हमको? क्या सरकार इसके लिये तैयार है? अगर यह तैयार है तो बता दीजिए कि मारुति का क्यों ऐसा हुआ? और अगर मारुति का ऐसा हो सकता है तो इंडियन एयर लाइंस का क्यों नहीं होगा? इस आशंका का उत्तर कुछ न कुछ आपके पास होना चाहिए।

मुझे सबसे बड़ा जो दूसरा खतरा लगता है जिससे आप लोग डरते हैं वह है मंडल वालों का। क्योंकि आप जानते हैं कि मंडल उन्हीं के ऊपर लागू होता है जो सार्वजनिक सरकारी उपक्रमों से संबंधित होता है। कोई प्राइवेट वाला हमारे गरीबों को लेता नहीं है, क्योंकि वह बाध्य नहीं है। वह 27 परसेंट वाला हो या 51 परसेंट वाला हो, उसकी बाध्यता सिर्फ सार्वजनिक उपक्रम और सरकारी नौकरियों में है। मैं अगर आपके ऊपर यह इल्जाम लगाऊं कि मंडल के कारण जो आकांशाएं गरीब मनुष्य की ऊंची हो गई है, वह चाहता है कि मैं भी इस दिशा में काम करूंगा, उनको कुचलने का एक नया रास्ता है इस निजीकरण से, आप पकड़ कर चल रहे हैं। आप नहीं चाहते उनको। क्या आप हमको इसकी गारंटी देते हैं कि जो निजी क्षेत्र होंगे, इस निजी क्षेत्र में जो मंडल का रिजर्वेशन हमने सार्वजनिक उपक्रम में लागू किया, इसको जरूर लागू करेंगे, इसका आश्वासन दे दीजिए तो भी मैं थोड़ा बहुत विश्वास कर सकता हूं।

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम (उत्तर प्रदेश) : और एस० सी०, एस० टी० के लिये भी। ..... (**व्यवधान**)

डा० बापू कालदाते : क्योंकि यह बहुत जरूरी है। दरअसल हमको इसमें कुछ पता नहीं है, वह चाहिए हमको। रिजोल्यूशन बहुत पॉयस होता है। आपने जो पाकिस्तान के बारे में एक रिजोल्यूशन किया।

मंडल सिर्फ पॉयसनैस से नहीं चला। जब डटकर कानून बनकर आ गया तब मंडल चला।

खाद्य मंत्रालय के राज्य मंत्री (श्री कल्पनाथ राय) : यह कांग्रेस ने लागू किया।

डा० बापू कालदाते : कल्पनाथ जी, मैं इसमें नहीं जाना चाहता। आपने किया, मुझे कोई दुःख नहीं है, कोई करे। मंडल जो करेगा उसका मैं साथ दूंगा। आपने किया हो उसका आपको श्रेय चाहिए, मैं आपको देना चाहता हूं। मुझे इसमें कोई आपत्ति नहीं है। मैं सिद्धान्त की लड़ाई लड़ता हूं, मैं राजनीति की लड़ाई इसमें नहीं लाता हूं। मैं इसके लिए आशंकित हूं कि मुझे सिर्फ पॉयस रेजोल्यूशन नहीं चाहिए। क्या कानूनी व्यवस्थाएं आप करने जा रहे हैं, क्योंकि आज ये बात साफ है कोई कहे या न कहे, चाहे या न चाहे कि उनकी आकांक्षाएं आज बलवती होती जा रही हैं और उन आकांक्षाओं को कुचलने के अलग-अलग प्रयास इस देश में जारी हैं। इसमें से क्या ये नहीं है, क्या नहीं हो सकता है?

इसलिए हमारी आपसे प्रार्थना है कि आप सावधानी से कदम उठाएं। मेहरबानी करके जो परम्पराएं, जो सिद्धान्त स्वतन्त्रता के संग्राम से उपजे हुए हैं, उनको खत्म करने की मेहरबानी मत करिए। इससे शायद आप बच जायेंगे लेकिन देश नहीं बचेगा और इसके लिये आप जिम्मेदार ठहरेंगे। जो ये साल निजीकरण का साल बनाकर सेलिब्रेट कर रहे हैं, वही इसके सबसे बड़े गुनाहगार होंगे। इन गुनाहगारों की लिस्ट में आपका नाम न आए, इतनी सिर्फ आप चिन्ता करें।

मैं अध्यादेश और इस विधेयक का सशक्त रूप से विरोध करता हूं ।

SHRI ASHOK MITRA (West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, today is a very sad day for those of us who are in this House. We are being asked twice to be witness to the acts of sabotage on the part of the Government against the Government sector. Now, this is precisely what is happening. The Ministry of Finance wants to sabotage the nationalised banks and the Ministry of Civil Aviation wants to do away with the nationalised airlines industry and in both the cases the *deus ex machine* is the issue of an Ordinance. There was no need for an Ordinance in the case of the Banking Regulation (Amendment) Bill and there was equally no case for an Ordinance for this particular Ordinance which is now being sought to be regularised into an Act. An extraordinary thing has happened in the last two-and-a-half years. The Government of India, through its Ministry of Civil Aviation, has taken to a lawless route. The private air taxis were being run in flagrant violation of the Air Corporations Act. You are going against the law. The Government itself is going against the law and nobody bothered. I was vastly amused to read occosional statements by the Minister of Civil Aviation : "Yes, we are allowing the private taxis to operate but we are not allowing them to advertise in the newspapers about their schedules". I am reminded of an episode from Sarat Chandra Chatterjee's epic, *Shr'kant*. In th's, a high caste lady, belonging to the Brahmin community was living in with a gentleman who did not belong to her community. He was a Shudra perhaps. But the lady had a clear conscience. She said : Yes, I am cohabiting with him but I don't allow him to enter my kitchen. So, our Minister of Civil Aviation has not allowed the air taxis to put up their advertisements in the newspapers. But has it affected their operations at all ? They organised s'mptuous press conferences where schedules were announced and the newspapers printed then. When are you fooling ? There is a moral involved in all these things. The Government is taking a lawless road. The Government is telling the people : Don't bother about the law. If it does not suit you, you ignore it. What happens if more and more people, who are not in agreement with the Government's policies and actions, take a lead after the Government's route ? In Andhra, you talk of the maraudings of the People's War Group. Now suppose they say. "Yes, we have taken to a lawless road because the Government itself has taken to a lawless road." You talk of the ULFA in Assam. Suppose they also say, "Yes, we have taken to the lawless road. The Government itself has taken to a lawless route. Then why should we not take a lead ?" Let us have some introspection : Yes, you have sold out to foreign interests. I have come to believe temporarily at least in the philosophy of privatisation. But, at least, keep to the form. You say that you are trying to maintain a democratic structure. Kindly remember what happened when 19 years ago, you tried to deviate from the democratic structure. In a minor way, you are again showing contempt for the law. This is something over which you should really ponder very seriously.

Then, again, what is here in the Bill ? I will come to the specifics of this Ordinance. Parliament reassembled on the 21st of February. This particular Bill was passed by the Lok Sabha within 48 hours. So, if only the Government was serious, between that day in August, 1992 and February. 1994, you could have passed this Bill several times over. Now that you have a defection-induced majority in the Lok Sabha you could have passed it several times over. You did not do it. You did not bother. 'Chaltha hai'. The planes are running, the private air taxis are running. The law does not bother us. Why should we bother ? But you were scared. Why did you get scared ? It is because some of the Airlines employees filed a suit in a High Court, questioning the legality of what you were doing. And you took fright. It is because perhaps, you are still, a little bit

afraid of the judicial process or the complications of the judicial process that might be involved. That is the reason you tried to rush through the Ordinance which you want to convert into a law. Then, again, I read strange things in the newspapers. Yes, although the Bill is being piloted by the Government, the Government is not, it is said in any immediate hurry to implement it, to regularise the air taxi operations, OK, yes, you have to work out the manual for regulating the activities of the airlines, for deciding on their timings and schedules, etc., etc. Now, they are very reluctant to accept your judgment about where to go, where to fly, whether to fly in the remote areas, what fares to charge, etc. There is a long hassle going on. And from reading the newspaper reports, it seems to me that it will take at least another nine months to a year before this thing could be sorted out, and a proper manual issued about the operations of the private air taxis. So, at least there was no cause for rushing in with an Ordiance. But the additional cause was that occasionally the Parliament needs to be told that it is nothing. Parliament has to be told that it is nothing. And you have told it in yet another way, "We can go in whatever way we like, with Parliament left behind." This is the second message that you are trying to communicate to the people.

But there are certain broad issues which you should still worry about. It is all very well to say, "No, we do not like the face of public sector units : we must sabotage the public sector ; we must throw them to the winds." For, a change, even this Government could, however be induced into some fluctuating emotions. I remember, in the '50s and the early '60s, the Air India, which was already a public sector undertaking was amongst the top airlines in terms of customer service, in terms of the receptivity that it had all over the world. The Indian Airlines is one of the largest air networks in the whole world. It flies to the remotest parts of the country, and it conveys the message of national integration. The Indian Airlines has been a major corpus which has been able to reach the message of national integration. And you now want to kill off this corpus for a passing thing. I remember, thirty years ago, everybody within the ruling party would write long verses on the socialistic pattern of society. Their leadership had said that we must have the socialistic pattern of society and everybody wrote essays on it. Now the demoralised leadership is all for private ownership. Therfore, everybody writes and speaks in favour of it. That is all you have been doing because your leadership has said so. You are killing certain institutions which have been nurtured over the past 35—40 years. They have their weaknesses ; they have their strengths. You had full control over them. But you did not try to improve them. If the food served in the Indian Airlines was not up to the mark, this could have been improved. But you make these little matters look abominable. It was up to the Government to issue instructions to the Airlines to improve the quality of food and improve the quality of service. Why didn't they do that ? It is still possible. You can talk to the employees. They are equally patriotic and they want to keep up the traditions of both Indian Airlines and Air India. If you throw a challenge to them, they will certainly respond and try to save the national airlines.

You talk of a strike. But did you go into the background to find out the reasons as to why the pilots and other employees resort to strikes? On the one hand you talk of globalisation and liberalisation and at the same time you say that you will stop the Indian Airlines pilots from seeking better fortunes elsewhere. These two things cannot go together. Either you believe in privatisation or you believe in regulating your employees. You cannot say that you will privatise the system but would not allow your pilots, your stewards and others to go elsewhere in search of better opportunities.

You could have taken the alternative path of talking to the pilots and others. You could reason it out with them and ask them about their problems and how far a via-media could be arrived at or a compromise could be attempted. For the sake of the nation, you could have asked them—whether they were willing to accept a slightly different kind of regime. But I don't think any initiative of this kind has ever come from the Government. You now believe in the philosophy of privatisation and, therefore, Indian Airlines and Air India had to be sabotaged.

I have seen a statement by the Minister of Civil Aviation; I have also seen some statements made by the civil servants; I find that they sometimes contradict each other. In one statement it is said that we should go for mega units; look at the mega units of the United States of America, a mega unit means efficiency, and, therefore, we must build mega units. But, Sir, you already have a mega unit. The Indian Airlines is a mega unit. You could have brought about some improvement in its working. It is a monopoly unit. You have total control over it. You could improve its efficiency. But you did not even try and all that you are doing is to privatise it. I can envaisage what will happen. Initially, these private airlines will show a certain amount of enthusiasm. They would entice away the passengers by offering them under-the-table and over-the-table discounts. They would offer them lavish food and lavish drinks so that some of them would go, while on flight, under the table. All this would happen.

Sir, the Government would not look after the finances of the Indian Airlines and Air India. It is on record. It is already mentioned here, they have to go to the market for funds. The Government would not finance them. I wonder, with this 7.3 per cent fiscal deficit—Rs. 58,000 crores—where has all the money gone? Who has stolen the money from the Government ? Could we not have set apart Rs. 5,000 or Rs. 6,000 crores for the Indian Airlines and Air India ? You have squeezed and squeezed the people. What have you done with this money ? Why can't the Finance Minister spare some dollars for the Ministry of Civil Aviation so that our flagship, Air India, our flagship, Indian Airlines, could hold their heads high in the comity of nations ?

What would happen now ? The Government would destroy the public sector enterprises, including these two units. The private sector would then roam around. They would squeeze out the Indian Airlines and Air India. Both of them would go to the wall. The private airlines would be the monarch of all they survey. They would raise their fares. They would choose their own schedule. They would choose their own routes. Where would we be then ? Where would the people of this country be ? This is what is bound to happen if we do not retrace the steps. Perhaps, all that we say here would not make an impression on the Government. They have made up their mind. They want to steamroller the whole programme of privatisation. But it is a passing phase. You would learn to your cost that these things would not yield any dividend to you. In this connection, I want to merely make a reference to what is happening in East Europe. (Time-bell).

The countries in East Europe moved away from socialism. In our case, we did not even have socialism. The countries in East Europe moved from socialism to full-scale privatisation. Visit any of these countries. Starting from Russia, go to the Baltic States—Latvia or Lithuania—crores into Poland and go to Macedonia or Bosnia. Ask them. Find out what experience of the common people in regard to privatisation is. What is happening in these countries ? Popular, democratic, elections have taken place on the basis of adult franchise. Those who were for privatisation are being mercilessly discarded by the people.

Anyway, I am not discouraged. You do all the marauding you are capable of

doing between now and the middle of 1995. Beyond that, the people would offer their response. The people would see to it that they do elect representatives who are cured of the propensity of floor-crossing. This is all I want to say. Thank you.

SHRI MISA R. GANESAN (Tamil Nadu) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to oppose the Air Corporations (Transfer of Undertakings and Repeal) Bill, 1994. The Government's intention in bringing forward this repeal Bill is nothing but to privatise the two airlines and float public issues.

The new scheme would pave the way for foreign companies to invest in the two airlines. The Minister just now stated that the new policy would open the way for the private airlines only and not for the foreign airlines. This is not correct. Here, I would like to remind the Minister about a circular from the Finance Ministry which says that foreign companies could buy equity once it is listed in the stock exchange.. Therefore, how are you going to restrict the foreign companies only up to 40 per cent ?

As rightly pointed out by hon. Shri Bapu Kaldate, what is the urgency or emergency for bringing forward this Ordinance ?

From 1953 to 1989, for more than 4 decades, it ran is profit. Only after 1989 it had been suffering losses. Why is it so ? It is because of mismanagement and wrong decision taken by this Government.

Sir, here we have to admit certain realities about the functioning of Indian Airlines. The performance of Indian Airlines has been the worst. No one will dispute the same because of their disrespect to the passengers, because of their unpunctuality, their delays. No one will be happy about the functioning of the Indian Airlines. To rectify the same this is not the method. The Governmnet has chosen a wrong line. Already private airlines have been allowed in this country under the guise of air taxies. Under the name of air taxies private people are operating full-fleged airlines. I agree that monoply should not continue, but to eradicate monopoly this is not the way. I warn that because of this Bill foreign capital is going to run into our national Airlines. Can the Minister give a categorical assurance that the Government will maitain a majority in the equity capital of these two airlines after the Bill is passed ?

I want to know one more thing from the hon. Minster. In times of war we can use our national Airlines as a second line of defence. Similar is the position in times of emergency. Will it be possible atfer this Bill is passed ? After the Bill is passed and it comes into force, can this Government insist on job reservations for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes and also for the Backward Classes as per the Mandal Commission's recommendation ? Here I would like to remind that a time has come in this country to consider introduction of reservatlon of jobs in private sector also. So. I want a categorical assurance from the hon. Minister that the reservation policy will continue in these Airlines as it exists today.

With these words I oppose this Bill.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN (Tamil Nadu) : Sir, I stand to strongly support this Bill. The Bill should have been piloted by Shri Ghulam Nabi Azad who is the Minister in charge of air transport. Now Shri Tytler is piloting the Bill. My only worry is that he should not ground the Bill because he happens to be the Minister for Surface Transport.

Shri Ashok Mitra, who was the former Finance Minister of West Bengal, spoke before me. He spoke with sadness. Normally, he speaks with a fighting spirit, but today I found him speaking very sadly. He talked of dismanting of the Central economy. I remember, a few days back I had a discussion with Shri M. A. Baby. who is also a Marxist. I asked him to tell the countries where the Centralised planned economy was now alive. Although he has been a Marxist, he said that he was not very clear. I told

him that there was one country Cuba, which was now having the Central economy, even though a part of it was getting decentralised. Most probably, it is there in North Korea also but compare the economy GDP of South Korea with that of North Korea. It is 290 million in South Korea and only 29 million in North Korea—ten times higher GDP. It may be in Vietnam also; I am not clear, but it is very clear that the Central planned economies are geting dismantled. In the process of dismantling of the economy, various institutions have to be strengthened. Merely by privatisation itself the position will not get strengthened. Various steps will have to be taken.

For the benefit of Shri Ashok Mitra, if he is here, I will mention some of the steps that have been taken by most of the original Communist countries, original Marxist countries, including USSR and Russia. Firstly, you have to set up the legal infrastructure for the private sector. Secondly, you have to devise a system of taxation for the new private sector. Thirdly, devise rules for the new financial sector. Fourthly, ownership rights to the existing rural properties; foreign exchange ; reforming prices. Then, creating safety unit and then stabilising macro economy. Ninth is privatisation. And the tenth is financial regularisation. Once we accept the principle of decentralising our economy or restructuring our economy, privatisation will automatically come. So, when privatisation is coming for most of the institutions. We have now taken up two of the most important Bills which will help us in liberalising our economy. One Is the Banking Regulation (Amendment) Bill and the other is the Air Corporation (Transfer of Undertakings and Repeal) Billl. This is what has to come, not because somebody does not like socialism or communism. Communism has not yielded results over the last 25 years, I am sorry. The Banks were nationalised in the year 1969. This year, 1994, is the silver jubilee year of the nationalisation of the Banks. In the 25th year we have to denationalise the banks. It is not because we love to do it. It is not only in India, but it is all over the world. The system itself is wrong. Suppose you take a medicine and if it does not cure you and it is creating a greater problem, then, the problem is not of the person but it is the problem of the medicine. Anybody who is in trouble, takes medicine. The USSR is in trouble. Yugoslavia has been in trouble. Almost all countries are in trouble.

Regarding privatisation, they have been saying that all the multinational companies will bring in their money here. Most probably, if Mr. Jagesh Desai is allowed, he will oppose the Bill. But in China, most of the multinationals have already come in. The only worry is that we started 15 years late. Recently, when I was in Singapore, I had a talk with one of the Cabinet Ministers there. He said, "I am very happy that India has come to privatisation and liberalisation. But the only unfortunate thing is that you are coming to the road when the road is full of cars." I just understood what he meant by full of cars. He said, "All the other countries have already come on the road. They are already travelling for years. China has already started travelling 15 years ago. During Mrs. Thatcher's period, when the airlines were not private, they were all making losses. What happened to the British Airway ? The British Airways had been the most unsuccessful airline. What happened during Mrs. Thatcher's time ? What about the British Steel ? When she privatised both the British Steel and the British Airways, they started yielding great profits. It is not that the World Bank and the IMF had always been in support of privatisation. I remember, during 1968 even the World Bank eulogised Czechoslovakia and Poland for the wonderful public sector economy. I can give you a reading of that. They thought that the public sector economy, the communist economy, the socialist economy might bring in very quick results.

But, unfortunately, after giving results over a period of time, their GDP dwinded. Why did the USSR crash ? Why did

any other country crash ? It is because the GDP grows over a period of time in a communist economy, in a socialist economy, and then nobody gets interested. There should be somebody who should be interested in the country. As long as Stalin was interested in the country because Russia was his private property it worked. Then, ultimately what happens? The public sector property is nobody's property. Suppose you go in a train and find somebody damaging the train, you are not worried about it.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA (West Bengal) : Sir, ...

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN : You will have your say. You allow me to speak. You may like my speech or you may not like my speech. I don't yield. I know it, Mr. Das Gupta.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA : Mr. Vice-Chairman, are we allowed to cast aspersions on historical personalities ? This is totally unconnected with this.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN : The disparagement has been done by his successors. His successors in the USSR, Mr. Gorbachev and others, have cast aspersions. They have taken away the body of Stalin from the mausoleum. They are now saying that they will take away the body of Lenin also from the mausoleum. The successors are denigrating their forefathers. It is not G. Swaminathan who is denigrating communism.

I come back to my point because you will not give me more time.

Somebody said that food is bad in Indian Airlines. The food in Indian Airlines is very good. May be, sometimes it may be bad. I would request the hon. Minister .... (time bell rings)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM) : Your time of three minutes is over.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN : Sir, give me three minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM) : Originally you had three minutes only.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN : You give me two minutes more.

Recently, when I was going to Madras the hon. Deputy Minister for Education Kum. Shelja travelled with me. When food was served in the Indian Airlines, about ten days ago, there were hairs in the food. She quarrelled with the Air Hostess and did not pay for the food. She asked for a Suggestion Card, which was not given to her at all. Then at the Madras airport, in my presence, there was a big quarrel betwten the hon. Minister and the Air Hostess not because the food was bad, but because the Suggestion Card was refused to be given by the Air Hostess. You ask the Minister.

Yesterday some of my relatives were coming from Madras by IC-539. For information about the arrival of the aircraft, you have to ring up 142 and 143. I continued phoning them up to know about the time of the arrival of the plane, but nothing was said. That plane should have landed near about 4.30. Till 7'o clock nothing was said. Then I phoned up 140 for one hour, but there was no reply. Then with great difficulty by 9'o clock I had to take out a big telephone Directory and phone up the Palam Air port. They informed me that the plane had landed at 4.20. Your phone, No. 142, does not give the landing time. Your own phones do not answer. When I told them that I am a Member of Parliament, and asked why they did not answer at 140, he replied that he was the only person there. It was not possible for him to answer every phone. Many people are coming into the metropolitan city of Delhi and this is how the Indian Airlines is working. I am not supposed to suffer because of the inefficiency of the public sector. Nobody there listens to our phone calls. Customers are not there for the Indian Airlines or for any public sector undertaking. Rather the public sector units are supposed to be for the customers. There cannot be an inside trading

in the stock exchange. So also it is not for the employees, but for the customers. I have got many things to say, but I fully support this Bill of the Government Privatisation is the only key. It is not only that has begun in India. It has begun all over the world. I fully support the liberalisation policy of the hon. Finance Minister. Somebody asked if you go in for election, what would happen to you. I say the whole country is supporting the economic policy. The whole country has been suffering for the last 40 years. They do not want to suffer hereafter. If you go in for an election, you will come back with a thumping majority, not because of the Government, but may be because of the Finance Minister. If you ask the Finance Minister he would say may be it is due to the Prime Minister. I do not say that. The point is that this liberalisation is being supported by all. Do not get discouraged by the opposition that has been given to you by some.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA : The representatives of the Treasury Benches should feel flattered because the support that is being given to the economic policy from the friends, who had not been supporting this Government. Sir, it is good to be in true colours. It is good for the Congress and the Congress Party to bury its old national policy. It is good that the policy of socialism has melted away. It is good that you have parted with the Nehru model of Planning. It is good that you have given a good-bye to the Avadi Congress Resolutions. It is good that you have started dismantling the public sector system, which this country had built and for which the country had showered blessings on your leadership. It is good that you are parting with your own past. It is good that you are coming out in your true colour. It is also good that our Members on the other side, despite their opposition to the economic policy are coming to the help of the Congress to get a safe passage to a number of Bills that seek to dismantle the public sector system of the whole nation. Sir, the point is today is the 7th of March which can be portrayed as a day of betrayal, a true day of betrayal, betrayal of the national interest, betrayal of the national economy, betrayal of the interest of the people. It is true that we have started dismantling step by step the public sector. If loss making by a public sector undertaking is considered to be a reason for denationalisation, why should not the Government be denationalisationed, because one Finance Minister after another has been presenting. Budgets showing losses ? Dr. Manmohan Singh has presented a Budget which shows colossal losses. Therefore, my point is : What is the yardstick for denationalisation ? If loss-making is a yardstick, please denationalise the Ministry of Finance also. If lack of service is a yardstick for denationalisation, kindly denationalise the Coal India Ltd., because the Coal India Ltd. has not only been showing disrespect towards security of its own workers but it has failed to perform its job also. If failure to do its job is a yardstick for denatonalisstion, then, Indian Railways also should be denationalised. The persons travelling in trains do know the sad experience, the manner in which the trains are being run. Therefore, it is good that the Government led by the Gongress party has come out in true colours to tell the people that they no longer subscribe to the concept of public sector. They have started building up a model of an economy which is subservient to the policy of another dreaded capitalism as prescribed by the World Bank. It is good because it will be easy for the people to understand in what direction the economy of the country is being sought to be directed.

Sir, many things have been told about the failure of socialism. It is everybody's knowledge that socialism has failed in some parts of the world. Then, has capitalism succeeded ? Please look at the performance of Western Europe. Please look at the condition of employment potential in Germany. In 1993, 8,50,000 workers were retrenched. In 1994 the off-loading of surplus labour is expected

to be in the region of 5 lakhs at least. Why is the crisis in America so acute today ? Why is America having a big deficit in foreign trade with Japan ? Why was the number of the unemployed reached astronomical figures in Great Britain ? Therefore, the point is if socialism has failed in the then Soviet Union, capitalism has not siccceded in the world either. If capitalism has succeeded, why is there poverty even today, after so many years of India's planning ? Let us not go into an ideological debate. It is primarily a draconian decision of the Government to open its sky to the foreign run multi-national airways. The principal factor is privatisation. You are going in for disinvestment of shares. You are going to sell shares. May I know who the persons are who will be interested in purchasing shares of the new company that you seek to float ? My point is it would be either foreign multinationals or Indian multinationals, either it would be foreign airways or Indian airways who will be purchasing shares to have their representatives on the board of the new company. It would be their representatives who would be on the Board. They would seek to control it. They would seek to change the policy. They would seek to make the new units subservient to heir interest but not to the interests of the country. Therefore, this is a direction in which the new company will lose all its interests or seek to lose or it would be totally vulnerable to the pressure of capitalism, capitalist firms whether Indian of foreign. Secondly, Sir, who is responsible for the losses in Indian Airlines ? Why was Indian Airlines asked to operate in a number of rotes which were totally unviable from the beginning ? Who made the decision for that ? Therefore, if anybody is to be plammed for the mounting loss of Indian Airlines, it is the Civil Aviation Ministry. It is the Government of India which is to be blamed for pushing the Indian Airlines employees into a strike. Why were the issues not settled ? Why did Indian Airlines have to incur a loss of crores of rupees by a strike which was imposed on the workers ?

On the question of privatisation, may I ask the hon. protagonists of privatisation to tell the country how private is the private sector ? The private sector is run mainly with the money of the common people. Not one per cent is the equity participation of the promoters in most of the private-sector establishment of the country. What is the participation of the Tatas in TISCO ? What is the participation of Reliance in all their industries Not more than one per cent or two per cent. Most of the money, most of the capital, most of the wealth, is borrowed or stolen from the banks or from the insurance companies or from the shareholders. Therefore, it is totally a misnomer to say that the private sector belongs to the private people. It belongs to the people. Money is from the people ; money is from the shareholders ; money is from the banks ; money is from the LIC. It is only the management that is run by the private people. Therefore, to me, the private sector is not private. The question really is how private the private sector is truly today.

Therefore, we are totally opposed to this Bill. We are totally opposed to this because we are opposed to the policy of dismantling the public sector ; we are totally opposed because the Government had adopted the unethical method of issuing an Ordinance just a few weeks before Parliament met ; we are opposed because it seriously undermines India's national interest. And, we believe this is the beginning of the end, the beginning of the end not only of the Government ; it is the beginning of the end of the public sector, of the public distribution system; it is the beginning of the end of the concept of a welfare state—we are not speaking of socialism—and the concept, the concept of capitalism, of a welfare state, is your concept. From the way in which things are being run today, it appears that the only yardstick that is sought to be applied is the yardstick of profit-making. If profit-making is the only point, if profit-making is the fundamental point, in decision-making, how is the Government to play its role in tackling the problem of

the mounting unemployment and the mounting poverty? I am quite sure, if Indian Airlines is privatised, the next day, there is going to be offloading of a considerable volume of the labour force. Unemployment is in the offing; retrenchment is in the offing. Nobody can give any guarantee. I do not take this guarantee seriously because the management goes to a Board takes a decision on the question of profit. If there is a question of profit, there is going to be offloading of the labour force. I take it like that. Therefore, today is a black day for the nation. And, we only tell the people, whether in Parliament or outside, we are going to put up the stiffest resistance against the departure that seems to be in the offing. It will not be very easy to push forward the so-called liberalisation, the so-called globalisation, the so-called panacea of privatisation, because that runs counter to to the fundamental interests of the Indian nation. Thank you, Sir.

श्री मोहम्मद खलीलुर रहमान (आन्ध्र प्रदेश) : मिस्टर वाइस चेयरमैन साहब, इस बिल के जरिए कारपोरेशन एक्ट 1953 को रिपील करके इंडियन एयरलाइंस और एयरइंडिया की जो कारपोरेशन की हैसियत थी, उसको खत्म किया गया है और इंडियन एयरलाइंस को और एयर इंडिया को दो अलेहदा-अलेहदा कम्पनीज में तबदील किया गया है। यह आर्डिनेंस 29 जनवरी, 1994 को जारी हुआ, जब सैशन शुरू होने में मुश्किल से 20-22 दिन थे। इतनी क्या जल्दी थी, जब 20-22 दिनों के बाद सैशन शुरु हो रहा था, आर्डिनेंस जारी करने की क्या जरूरत थी ? सैशन तक इंतजार करके सैशन में इस बारे में बिल लाया जा सकता था। हुकूमत की जानिब से यह कहा जा रहा है कि चूंकि इंडियन एयरलाइंस मुसलसिल घाटे में चल रही है, इस वजह से कारपोरेशन की हैसियत को खत्म करके कम्पनी की हैसियत देकर उसको बजाए घाटे के मुनाफ में हुकूमत ला रही है। यह बात समझ में नहीं आती कि एयर इंडिया को तो करोड़ों का फायदा हो रहा है मगर इंडियन एयरलाइंस को करोड़ों का नुकसान क्यों ? यह बहुत अहम बात है और इसको जब नुकसान हो रहा है तो मैं समझता हूं कि इंडियन एयरलाइंस का जो मैनेजमेंट है, वह बहुत हद तक इस नुकसान का जिम्मेदार है। इस वजह से कि जिस किस्म का भी उसने प्रोग्राम बनाया, कई सैक्टर जो वॉयबल नहीं है, उन्हें वहां खोला गया था और वहां के हालात इस बात की गवाही दे रहे थे और खास तौर पर हमने पिछले दो सालों में देखा कि इंडियन एयरलाइंस में मुसलसिल स्ट्राइक पर स्ट्राइक हो रही थी . . (**व्यवधान**) . .

श्री जगेश देसाई : तब से ही लॉस शुरु हुआ, पहले वह मुनाफे में था।

श्री गुरुदास दास गुप्ता : स्ट्राइक के लिये जिम्मेदार कौन था ?

श्री मोहम्मद खलीलुर रहमान : स्ट्राइक का जिम्मेदार इंडियन एयरलाइंस का मैनेजमेंट है और फिर नौबत इस किस्म की आई कि इंडियन एयरलाइंस के कई पॉयलट्स को इस्तीफा दे देना पड़ा और इंडियन एयरलाइंस से निकल कर प्राइवेट एयर टैक्सी को उन्होंने ज्वाइन किया। यह भी हुकूमत की तरफ से कहा जा रहा है कि इंडियन एयरलाइंस को एक कम्पनी की शक्ल अगर दें तो यह प्राइवेट एयर टैक्सी से बेहतर अंदाज में कम्पीटिशन करके ज्यादा से ज्यादा मुनाफा कमा सकती है, मगर मैं समझता हूं कि इस बात में किसी किस्म का कोई लॉजिक नहीं है। किस तरह एक कारपोरेशन के स्टेटस को खत्म करके एक प्राइवेट कम्पनी ज्यादा से ज्यादा मुनाफा कमा सकती है, यह बात समझ में नहीं आ रही है।

फिर कम्पनी की हैसियत जब दे दी गई है तो सबसे अहम मसला जॉब रिजर्वेशन का इसमें आता है एस० सी०/एस० टी० के लिए, क्या वहां जॉब रिजर्वेशन रहेगा ? मैं आपसे जानना चाहूंगा कि क्या कम्पनी की हैसियत अख्तियार करने के बाद भी एस० सी०/एस० टी० के लिये वही जॉब रिजर्वेशन रहेगा ? जो मौजूद एम्प्लाइज

हैं, उनको रिट्रेंच तो नहीं किया जाएगा मुनाफे के कारण ? अगर ऐसा किया गया तो इससे बेरोजगारी में इजाफा हो सकता है ।

इन तमाम चीजों पर गौर करते हुए, मैं अपनी पार्टी की तरफ से इस बिल की मुखालिफत करता हूं और मैं समझता हूं कि इतने अहम बिल को इतनी तेजी से नहीं लाना चाहिए था । काफी सोच-विचार के बाद और तमाम पोलिटिकल पार्टीज को कांफिडेंस में लेने के बाद आपको कोई डिसीजन लेना चाहिए था । यह जो आपका डिसीजन है, यह एक तरफा डिसीजन है और मैं समझता हूं कि यह डिसीजन एयर इंडिया और इन्डियन एयरलाइंस के लिये बैहतर डिसीजन नहीं रह सकेगा । शुक्रिया ।

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri V. Narayanasamy) *in the Chair*]

SHRI JOHN F. FERNANDES (Goa) : Thank you Mr. Vice- Chairman. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to support this Bill because this is already an Act by the force of the Ordinance. I think this Bill was long overdue because the "Open Sky" Policy was announced by the Government in 1990 and it is four years since the taxi operators in India operated illegally because the Air Corporations Act was in force. The monopoly clause was there in the statute. Section 18 of the Air Corporations Act does not permit any other operator to operate in our country. It was the monopoly of our national carriers—Air India and Indian Airlines. So, I feel it is a bit late that the Government has come with an Ordinance which should have beendone earlier. The main purpose of this Bill was, these two Corporations were banned and the two companies were formed under the Companies Act. Instead, these Companies were registered a year ago, but they were not put into operation by the sanction of this Ordinance issued by the President in January. Sir, we have seen internationally how the Megas Airlines have captured the skies in different countries. In view of the Open Sky Policy of the Government, it is pertinent that we give freedom to these two Corporations because till now these two Corporations were parasites on the Government of India ; they cannot have their own funds. They would borrow funds even from the Government of India. The Government of India has to stand as a surety internationally. Now these Companies are coming into existence ; these Companies will have freedom. They will not rely on the Government for financial resources. They can go out into open market, in the capital market and mop up resources. At the same time it is said that the Government has privatised them. It is not so. It is very cleao in Clause 9 that the control of these Companies will remain with the Government and the Government will have freedom to give directions to these Companies. Sir, we had also seen that last year, the Indian Airlines made a loss of Rs. 100 crores. A poor country like India cannot allow mismanagement of a Government company, a public sector company and I think, it is one step made in the right direction for Indian Airlines and Air India to come out of the red so that they can rely on the public money.

The Government has also mentioned 40 per cent of their resources can be raised from any quarters. It is pertinent for Indian Airlines and Air India to have foreign exchange, hard currency, because most of the planes were imported from foreign countries. I think, it will be good if the share bonds are open to the NRIs so that we can have further resources. I was mentioning about the Megas. Sir, we have seen how every country has control, as an umbrella, on civil aviation, oe their own sky. There is an example of the BA. We have seen so many companies in Great Britain but at the moment we see only the British Airways. In France lines are being controlled and captored are hundreds of airlines ; all these airlines are being controlled and captured by four Megas. We have recently seen winding up of Pan Am, the merger of Pan Am with Deltas. It is pertinent that the Indian skies are controlled by one

air agency, and I feel the Government is moving towards that direction by merging Air India and Indian Airlines into one Company, bringing them under one umbrella. It will be pertinent for this Company to see that all other national carriers, private air taxies are brought within its own fold ; otherwise it will be difficult for it to operate.

There is a clause here that 40 per cent equity can be brought from overseas and I do not think that we should compete ; we will not be able to compete with the foreign Megas. We have already seen that we have the Lufthansa through Modiluft. I think it will be pertinent to have this Company ; and all the Civil Aviation activities are brought under one carrier. I think the time will come when we have only one national carrier like British Airways or Air France. Sir, we have done away with the Air Corporation Act. The Air Corporation Act has been repealed. We have no legal sanctit to control civil viation. And the other day, the Minister has rightly mentioned that they have issued the guidelines to these private air taxis. Sir, we have so many multiple authorities in the countly as far as Civil Aviation is concerned; there is no Central authority to have central command and control. We have the National Airports Authority of India. We have the International Airports Authority of India. We have the DGCA, Director General of Civil Aviation, controlling and giving a different command. As a matter of fact, there is a confusion. I would like to know from the hon. Minister whether he would contemplate some new Act. In America the whole civil aviation scenario is controlled by the Air Transport Board. I would like to know from the hon. Minister whether he will see that a new law is enforced in this country on similar pattern and a new statute is brought to see that all the activities of civil aviation are controlled by one authority. At the moment, I am told that in the absence of any law, we are only giving guidelines. Sir, guidelines have no legal sanctity. They can be violated. There should be a statutory body to see that, Sir, this permit system should be properly controlled. Now it is left to the DGCA to issue permits, I feel that here should be a proper set of rules and some proper precedent should be there.

With these words, I support this Bill. I hope that the Government will come forward with a proper legislation to see that skies of Indian civil aviation are properly controlled.

PROF. SAURIN BHATTACHARYA (West Bengal) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, my neighbour, at the same time my preceding speaker, Mr. John F. Fernandes, spoke of 'open sky'. Being a student of History I am reminded of a saying. In the 16th century, Queen Elizabeth, known to be the Virgin Queen said, "Sky and water are the two most precious gifts of nature, and can belong to no individual country." Of course, it was an apology for the imperialistic policy that she was pursuing against other countries and against our country also. But here the 'open sky' policy acts really in favour of private airlines. It has two parts, private airlines already operating curtailing the monopoly of the Indan Airlines and the Air India. I think it is symbolic that the Surface Transport Minister has been given the responsibility of piloting this Bill which may perhaps ground the aircraft lock, stock, and barrel, belonging to the Indian Airlines !

SHRI DINESHBHAI TRIVEDI (Gujarat) : It can be drowned also.

PROF. SAURIN BHATTACHARYA : It can be either of the two things. Grounded or drowned, amounts to the same thing, almost.

Mr. Vice Chairman, Sir, Comrade Gurudas Das Gupta, I should say, hon. Gurudas Das Gupta, was saying that it was a sad day today. It was an understatement of the year. Really all the 365 days or 366 days, as the case may be, are sad days under this Government. So, it is no use just dstinguishing one particular day, i.e. the 7th of March, 1994. I don't think it is any special day. My friend, Shri Fernandes, was saying that the Indian Airlines has hundreds of crores of rupees

as deficit or incurs a loss of hundreds of crores of rupees. The figures goes on. More than 2 lakh industries are either closed or declared sick or are under lock-out. A majority of these belong to the private sector and are eloquent testimony to the efficiency of the private sector. Mr. Gurudas Das Gupta was quoting another set of figures when I came in the midst of his speech. He was talking about how the private industries utilised public funds. I remember in this very House,

Mr. Pranab Mukherjee, when he was the Finance Minister, in reply to a question, had given figures of how maximum private capital was ustd by the Tatas, which was to the extent of 12 per cent and in the case of other houses it was between 3 and 8 per cent. All this belongs to the public. It is the public money out of which private profit is being derived and whealth is being accumulated, say, by one Tata or or one Birla or one Singhania or one Mafatlal. How can the private industries benefit the country? How can private industries be called efficient ? There is a saying in Bengali. In English it would mean, "the more 'Ganesh' is uttered, the more efficient is the business. "In certain circles, therefore, the more a business is made to go out of existence. the greater is the efficiency of a particular businessman. In this particular House, I had repeated ociasions to say that in India industries go sick but not the industrialists. They thrive. Therefore, it is a myth on the basis of which privatisation is going apace. There is nothing more to it. No question of saving the country or anything of the sort. It is just for saving the private industrialists. Therefore. as I said earlier also, I oppose this Bill. Thank you.

SHRI JAGMOHAN (Nominated): Sir, most of the points have already been made. But one thing which I would like to point out is that—I am not taking sides, whether private or public—so far as these two airlines are concerned, by mixing them together and by discussing them together, in my view, we are confusing the basic issue. All these public utility industries and public corporations, when they are designed, the basic objective is to ensure proper development. In the case of airlines, when they were nationalised, the idea was to have economy of scales in our favour, the idea was to ensure a balanced regional development of the country—not that some areas remained neglected and other areas got prosperous. So it was with this purpose, the Indian Airlines Corporation was set up. Now there are remunerative routes and non-remunerative routes and we have to balance the two. If we privatise, as is happening, we find that most of the private companies are coming up on the remunerative routes, that is, from Delhi to Bombay, Delhi to Calcutta and so on. Thus, all those areas which are backward will be neglected. Now the Indian Airlines, as you have said, is making losses. If you put it in competition with the private companies on the more remunerative routes, they will always undersell it. They will pay more to their pilots and the efficiency of the airline will go further down. Only the inferior staff would be left with them and they will get into further trouble. So the basic objective of public utility was to ensure equitable development, balanced development, and, thus, bring a national cohesion, Unfortunately, this, objective is being missed. So far as Air India is concerned, this criterion is not well-edged in that case. You can privatise, you can compete and you can do anything in international airlines. Well, I have nothing to say about it. If you think that it is going to yield better results, make it more efficient. One can understand it in case of Air India. But I can't understand as to why you have to open up in case of Indian Airlines. Now what will happen is that metropolitan cities like Bombay and Calcutta will have more facilities. All the industrialists and all the people who are coming and who want to develop further would always want to go to Bombay, Calcutta and other metropolitan cities and, as a result, the metropolitan cities will get more congested. The rents will rise but the other areas will remain undeveloped. Our national objective of planning has been to bring about proper regional development. This will be defeated, in my view, if we do not take care of it.

I have a suggestion for the hon. Minister to consider. When you want to license a private company, say, an 'X' company group it. Give licences group-wise : that is, one unremunerative route and, say, two remunerative routes ; combine them and say that if anyone wants to compete, he must keep our national objectives in view. If you want to bring in a spirit of competitiveness, bring in that. But you cannot compete saying that I will have a better ground and the other person will have a bad pitch and we will compare the output; you may make a century or zero. That is not the proper way of looking at it. So, this is the only suggestion that I wanted to make. The other points have been covered by my distinguished colleagues. I don't want to elaborate on them.

SHRI P. UPENDRA (Andhra Pradesh) : Mr. Vice-Chairman Sir I feel that the repeal of the Air Corporation Act is a natural corollary to what was done earlier. In fact, a demand was repeatedly made in this House that this Act should be repealed to facilitate operation by the private airlines. I don't want to go into the subject of private sector and public sector and I don't want to quarrel with my Communist friends also when they continue to show loyalty to the ideology which they have been professing all along, though things have been changing all over the world. But, here, in this House itself, we have been complaining repeatedly about the service offered by the Indian Airlines. There were even occasions when passengers were held to ransom, and when the Government was helpless and was blamed for not being able to tackle the situation. In that context, I don't find any other alternative except for the step that the Government has now taken. While the core sector continues to be, and should continue to be, with the Government, is it worthwhile for the Government to concentrate its attention on the running of a corporation like the Indian Airlines which hardly carries 35,000 passengers a day or for the Government to be blamed for its failures ? Having permitted the private airlines, I feel that this Bill is absolutely justified and the Government has enough justification for bringing it. There is already a visible change in the functioning of the Indian Airlines as we notice improvements in the quality of food that is being served, the way the telephone calls are now being attended to, and, finaly, the way they bid us farewell expressing their with that we would fly again on the Indian Airlines. ...which we never heard before 5.00 P.M. Such an indifferent service is gradually giving way to some kind of an improved service. Therefore, I think that this Bill is drafted and brought before this House in a right spirit. But the only thing is that these private taxi operators should not be given an unbridled freedom. There should be some rules which should bind them to run their services on uneconomic routes also which the Government is considering probably. There shou'd also be control over the fares because we had seen at one stage when the pilots of the Indian Airlines went on a strike, all the private airlines had increased their fares and the Government was helpless. Therefore, there should be some control over the fares also.

Other aspects have already been mentioned. Serving of liquor and other things have already been raised by other hon. Members. We have to ensure that the airlines maintain their aircraft properly. The interests of the employees should be protected. When Indian Airlines and Air India are converted into Companies, there should be sufficient provision to safeguard the interests of the employees against their retrenchment, payment of proper emoluments, etc. I think the Minister will assure all these things in his reply. I feel that in the present circumstances, keeping in view the trend the world over, the step taken is necessary, inevitable and I give my qualified support to this Bill.

Thank you Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) : Now, Mr. Dineshbhai Trived. Your party's time is already over. But I am giving you three minutes. You please finish before that.

SHRI DINESHBHAI TRIVEDI (Gujarat) Sir, the time allotted for this Bill is

three hours. You are generous to everybody... (*Interruptions*) ...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) : Mr. Trivedi, from your party, Mr. Bapu Kaldate has spoken. He has taken most of the time. I am giving you three minutes' time.

SHRI DINESHBHAI TRIVEDI : Sir, I rise with a lot of concern and anxiety—concern not only because civil aviation has been very close to my heart but also because it is a very, very sensitive area in the nation's economy. I am also a little apprehensive and anxious because we have suddenly changed our course. We were going towards one direction and midway we were trying suddenly to change the direction without perheps planning for it. That is what is causing me a lot of anxiety. It is a strange coincidence. I don't know whether destiny has a role to play or not but it is very strange that an area, in the nationalisation of which one of our national leaders, late Shrimati Indira Gandhi, was instrumental, was, in the morning hours, denationalised. The second area, which was very close to the heart of late Shri Rajiv Gandhi—the civil aviation industry was very dear to his heart and I have no doubt that with his experience, knowledge and dedication, he would have taken the civil aviation industry to new heights—is now going to be denationalised. It may perhaps be a coincidence but it is rather strange.

Sir, now I would like to say a little about the Ordinance itself. I feel that the time has come when we have to think over the practice of issuing Ordinances. Most of the speakers have talked about the issue of Ordinances. They questioned why we should resort to promulgating Ordinance after Ordinance. There is a very famous judgment of the High Court in Bihar where they have condemned this activity. Sir, we do not want to follow that example here in this Parliament. Ordinance should be an exception. Unfortunately, it has become a rule and a practice.

The Statement of Objects and Reasons says that they required funds and that is the reason why they wanted to go to the capital market, and hence the Ordinance. The Ordinance is a matter of urgency. I don't think Indian Airlines or Air India has gone bakrupt. I would like to know if they have gone bankrupt. If I remember correctly, Air India has come out with extraordinary profits. It has been publicised everywhere. So, they have not gone bankrupt. Yes, Indian Airlines have been having some problem but we know that in the last six months, the record of Indian Airlines has also changed and it is changing colours, from red to black, meaning they are now making profits.

The hon. Minister, when he made his initial statement, mentioned about the monopoly, that we want to do away with monopoly and that is the reason why we are bringing forth this Bill and the Ordinance. So, there are three reasons, and I fail to understand as to what is what.

There has been a lot of debate and a discussion on this Ordinance. The time has come when all the parties must sit together and find out some norms. I know the reason as to why the Ordinance had come and it is because somebody had challenged the entire activity of the so-called private taxis and it was agreed by the Government on more than one occasion. To that extent, I am happy that at least we do not have to feel ashamed. The people used to ask that our Parliament passes laws and we ourselves sitting in this Parliament are a party to demolish that law. I do not understand this. I hope the Minister would be able to explain and throw some light.

It reminds me of Panditji and his Discovery of India. I hope you will not disturb me when I talk of Panditji, because I say it with some sentiments. The Treasury Benches are also very sad and that is why only one Member had supported it and there is no enthusiasm. So, I refuse to believe that phiolosphy of Panditji, Shrimati Indira Gandhi and Shri Rajiv Gandhi is dead. I refuse to belive because there are no supporters. It is very strange that today, from this side, we are very proudly talking about, and rightly so, the

legacy of Panditji and we are not talking about capitalism or socialism or any ism. we are talking about Indianism and that is what the crux of the whole matter is. We had chalked out a planned economy for us and that was the mixed economy and that was prerisely the Indian model. I am afraid, when I mentioned in the beginning that we have suddenly changed our course, I could have well appreciated if we would have changed our course when the time came for it. Our planning seems haphazard. I was talking about Panditji and his "Discovery of India" wherein he says : "A nation cannot be progressive if it only clings to its past ; but at the same time, a nation would be making a grave error if it denounces and condemns its past". I am afraid, we have been doing precisely that. There have been statements by various hon. Ministers also that for the last 40 years, what we have done is a terrible mistake. Sir, people have been looking towards India. India was a great power and is still a great power. In between somewhere, perhaps, we have lost sight of that greatness but that still is there within us, because there was a vision, a will and dedication. Unfortunately, it is not there. I am sure corrective steps would be taken. To build this kind of infrastructure, it was not easy at all. It has taken us more than forty years. After having built it, it just takes one Session of Parliament or one Ordinance to demolish the whole thing. I am not trying to say that everything is lost. No. But what I am afraid of is the way it has been done. I am not afraid of competition. Our public sector undertakings can take any competition. What I am afraid of is that the competition is at the cost of the public sector unertakings. Air India is competing with most of the modern airlines in the world. How could they make such good profits? We have no dearth of anything. What we want is sincerity of purpose. Coming to the subject-mater...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) : Mr. Trivedi, you have to conclude now.

SHRI DINESHBHAI TRIVEDI : I am concluding. I just want to raise two-three points only, very very briefly. I will not take more than two-three minutes.

Sir, when we are talking about civil aviation, it is a very very sensitive area. When we go to the airport, when we embark on the aircraft, an announcement is made that photography is prohibited. May I say why is photography prohibited ? Rightly so because it is a very sensitive area. There are airports which are managed, manned, by the Air Force and the Navy. Do you mean to say that we are going to throw open the entire gamut ? Take, for instance, the airport at Bhuj. When the passengers come out, they are taken out in a bus. Because of what ? Because of the sensitive nature of the civil aviation industry as such. In the United States of America also, when they went in for this N.A.F.T.A. Treaty, mind you, civil aviation was kept out of this treaty because of its sensitive nature.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) : Mr. Trivedi, please conclude.

SHRI DINESHBHAI TRIVEDI : Last point, Sir. It is said that it was because of the 'Open Sky' policy. You say that it was by the National Front Government. I have two points to make, in this connection. Firstly, if we had made a mistake —I do not think it was a mistake ; it was because the condition at that time was different—would you like to continue that mistake ? Secondly, on 4th May, 1993, the Minister of Civil Aviation and Tourism in answer to Rajya Sabha Unstarred Question No. 823, stated as under—this is very important—I want to clarify the issue—I quote : "The 'Open Sky' policy of the Government is in respect of cargo flights only. The cargo operations in these airlines have recorded an impressive growth." The Minister goes on to say : "In pursuance of the policy announced on air taxi operators, in Parliament on 11-4-90, air taxis are allowed to operate to all airports." This means they have

modified it. Sir, if I give a licence to a taxi operator in Delhi and, tomorrow, if he instead of bringing an ambassador car, brings a bus and operates on the same route as the Delhi Transport Corporation buses operate, do you think it is right? Would that not amount to some kind of a cheating?

Sir, you should see it in the proper perspective. I repeat, I am not against competition. But what you are trying to do is entirely different. You say that it was done by the previous Government. The main objective at that point of time was to boost exports and to boost the internal tourist traffic. We had sanctioned it on certain conditions. We did not throw open the entire sector of civil aviation, which you are doing now.

Our resources are scarce. We have no business to play around with the public money. We are taking loans from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. We are paying interest in these loans. Our resource is so limited. We have to import crude. What is happening? Between metropolitan cities, there are fifty flights with fifty passengers each. Is it not the duty of the Government to ensure the optimum utilisation of the resources? Even in the United States of America, they are so restrictive about the routes. I would like to conclude by suggesting, if I may, that instead of this kind of a haphazard approach, you come forward with a comprehensive aviation policy of the country *per se*. There is no emergency. I would plead with the hon. Minister to consider, reconsider and come out with a comprehensive policy. Let there be competition, but let there be rationalisation of routes. Now, in private sector what has happened? The moment this Ordinance came, that very day the private operators held a meeting and it was announced that from now on nobody would give discount. What does that mean? If you feel that competition is going to help the consumer, then what is this? You are creating a new monopoly which will not be accountable to Parliament or to the Government of India. Sir, had it not been for Indian Airlines or Air India, our stranded brothers and sisters in the Gulf war would never have had the kind of assistance they got. Do you think that the private operators are going to do that kind of service? Basically they are —I am not attributing motives—for making profits. They do not have that kind of social obligation which we collctively have in this Parliament or you in Government have.

Sir, I have not spoken about safety. I am very much concerned about this. I do not know what kind of safety norms the private operators are going to function with. If you want to get into private airlines as a pilot, I understand, you have to pay Rs. 5 lakhs. (Time Bell). Kindly consider and bring a comprehensive policy on civil aviation.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Mr. Minister.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: May I seek one clarification? This Bill should have been piloted by the Minister of Civil Aviation. Normally the practice in the House is that the permission of the House is taken if the Minister incharge is absent. This is a very important Bill which seeks to denationalise such an important sector. For this the permission of the House should have been taken. There is no convention whatsoever in the part ... (*Interruptions*). Let me Make my point. On such an important issue or on such an important Bill the Government is not being represented by the hon. Minister who is looking after the Department. The hon. Minister looking after surface transport is piloting the Bill. I want to know whether the permission of the Chairman or of the House has been granted.

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER: Nobody would come here without the permission of the Chair.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: It is my duty to afford dignity to the House. (*Interruptions*). The Minister for Parliamentary Affairs may kindly listen to us. What is the normal practice? You can

take any position you like, but this Department is not looked after by Madam Minister, it is looked after by Mr. Minister who is not here. Therefore, is it proper?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): On 4th March, 1994, the Minister for Civil Aviation and Tourism, Shri Ghulam Nagi Azad, wrote a letter to the hon. Chairman showing his inability, that he would not be able to be present in this House on 7th March and 8th March. The hon. Chairman has granted him the permission on 5th March, 1994. He has stated in his letter that he had already committed to attend ITB Berlin. Therefore, he was unable to be present in the House. That was the request made by him. The permission was granted by the hon. Chairman. Therefore, that issue does not arise.

Yes, Mr. Maheshwar Singh, your reply.

श्री महेश्वर सिंह : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आरम्भ में ही मैंने एक बात कही थी कि जहां तक निजीकरण का संबंध है, इसका तो भारतीय जनता पार्टी समर्थन करती है, लेकिन मन्त्री महोदय यह स्पष्ट करें कि इसमें जो बहुराष्ट्रीय कम्पनियां हैं, वे इन पर सारा कब्जा नहीं करेंगी। क्या मंत्री महोदय इस बात का आश्वासन माननीय सदन को देते हैं? . . . (व्यवधान) . . . उसको किस प्रकार से रोकेंगे, यह मैंने पूछा है मन्त्री महोदय से।

दूसरी, एक बात मैंने कहां और कही थी कि जहां-जहां आज प्राइवेट एअर-टैक्सी चल रही है उनके बारे में मन्त्री महोदय ने यह आश्वासन दिया था कि जब यह एअर कारपोरेशन विधेयक आएगा तो इस बात को वह सुनिश्चित करेंगे कि उनके किराए संबंधी निर्धारण का कुछ कंट्रोल सरकार के हाथ में रहेगा। वह शब्द इस बिल में देखने को नहीं मिलते कि किस प्रकार से आप किराया निर्धारण करेंगे। फिर, जैसा मैंने कहा कि यह सरकार का यह काम नहीं है कि सरकार व्यापार करे। सरकार शासन चलाए, लेकिन सरकार को यह भी ध्यान में रखना होगा कि नार्थ ईस्ट जैसे क्षेत्र में आज विमान सेवाएं एक लग्जरी नहीं रह गई है बल्कि एक आवश्यकता हो गई है और वे लोग इस प्रकार से कल को सफर न कर पाएंगे। अगर निजी क्षेत्र में यह मोनोपोली चली गई, इस प्रकार की एअर टैक्सी आ गई और यह मनमाने ढंग से उड़ानें चलाने लगें तो उन क्षेत्रों का क्या होगा? इस सम्बन्ध में भी मन्त्री महोदय आश्वासन दें।

एक बात और यहां कही गई है जितनी भी आपकी इस प्रकार की एयर-टैक्सी हैं, वहां पर अब उन्होंने मदिरा-पान भी खुल्लमखुल्ला कराना शुरू कर दिया है, जो कि सरकारी नीति के विरुद्ध है। क्या उस पर रोक लगाएंगे?

अगर मन्त्री महोदय इन पर आश्वासन देते हैं तो जो प्रस्ताव मैंने प्रस्तुत किया है, उसको मैं वापस लूंगा।

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER : I want to thank. . . .

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA : Kindly assure me. There is a very good deal between Congress and the BJP.

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER : Let me thank the hon. Members. There are certain decisions to which Mr. Das Gupta has taken exception. His party was in power. . . . (*Interrpütions*) I will just quote what the Minister has said. You did not raise any objection at that time.

Before I start answering the hon. Member, I would like to quote something from Panditji because most of the Members are admirers of Panditji and his policies, as we are. I would like to say that Pt. Nehru had himself said that history is the manifestation of links in an urbroken chain of events. It is also true that Pt. Nehru had talked about temples of modern India, but he did not ever abandon the private sector.

Nearly 50 years of independence have passed, and the financial powers and the experience of the people of independent India have come of age. The Indian People and the Indian economy have seen market capitalisation to the tune of nearly Rs. 450,000 crores till 1993.

The efficiency of the public sector has been commented upon, sometimes adversely also, by both the Houses at times in the past. It has been recognised even in Parliament that the public sector has to be made more progressive, more efficient and more accountable. In doing so, certain public sector undertaking have to be restructured and allowed to tap the financial powers and acumen of the Indian people. Then, it should not be said that the ideas of the founding fathers of the nation are being dropped. The Government is only fulfilling the dreams of making India self-reliant and allowing people's participation in public companies.

I would just like to inform the hon. Member that for the last two years the Ministry of Transport has taken certain decisions on privatisation or disinvestment. I would like to tell you the result is such that they have made in one sector a profit of $1.5 billion. Not a single port has made a loss. Everywhere every port in the whole country has shown profit.

I heard the former Finance Minister of West Bengal. I am surprised at his speech. There are over 1000 public undertakings. I do not know if he can name one which is making a profit and which has shown the growth expected of it. I am not aware of any. May be, he would tell me about it.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA : Will the Minister kindly tell us whether or not the Economic Survey presented by the Minister of Finance this year, speaks of a much better performance of the public sector this year than that of the last year ?

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER : I am not denying it.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA : Mr. Tytler is denigrating his own children.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) : Mr. Das Gupta, you have already spoken on the subject.

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER : I am just saying what you would like to tell me. I was very surprised when I heard that there is not a single public sector undertaking for the last so many years in West Bengal.

SHRI GURUDAS GUPTA : So what ?

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER : What do you mean by 'so what' ? It is public money. You cannot waste public money.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA : To kill a dog, give it a bad name.

It is your political propaganda. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER : I know I have touched a very sensitive subject with your friends.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA : Sir, they are out to destroy the entire public sector in the country.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) : Mr. Das Gupta, you have made your speech. You kindly take your seat. Do not interrupt the Minister.

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER : Some Members have raised the point that the promulgation of the Ordinance while the Bill was under consideration of the House is undemocratic and unprecedented. I have given a detailed account of the circumstances leading to the Ordinance. We are convinced that the Ordinance was a necessity. I look forward to the House rejecting the Resolution asking for the disapproval of the Ordinance and accept that it will be replaced by an Act of Parliament on the basis of the Bill passed by the Lok Sabha.

I would like to thank the hon. Members who have made valuable observations and suggestions. Let me assure them that our objective is to see that the air transport

industry serves the people better than what it did in the past. During the last 40 years, the air transport that grew in India as two State-owned Corporations—the Indian Airlines and the Air India. Both the Corporations registered an impressive growth, but there was a continuing grievance that the quality of service was not up to the mark. Perception of the passengers and the public was titled against the practice of monopoly. The primary purpose of the Bill is to remove monopoly and to reconstruct the two corporations into public limited companies to function in a competitive environment. The two companies, viz., the Air India and the Indian Airlines were incorporated under the Companies Act so that the assets and liabilities of the existing Corporations will vest in these companies. This has been done with effect from 1-3-1994. In pursuance of the provisions, an opportunity is being taken to ensure that in process of restructuring no dislocation takes place. Nor do the interests of any one, whether employees or traders, or customers or the Government, are adversely affected.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA : How can the Government ensure the interest when it is not a public sector. How can the Government ensure the policy enunciated by the Board of Directors ? The Government cannot answer for them. It cannot answer for a factor which does not belong to them.

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER : I would like to inform the non. Member that even in the present Board of Directors we have the labour leaders, we have a lady, we have a travel agent, we have people from the hotel industry, we have Scheduled Caste representative, we have people also from general industry. So, people sitting on the Board can take decisions on behalf of the labour and other interests. It is not only that you can speak on behalf of the labour. We are all concerned about the labour. (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) : Mr. Das Gupta, I will not allow a running commentary.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA : I am only saying the Government cannot give an assurance on behalf of the company which is not owned by the Government. The Government cannot give any assurance for them.

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER : You are nobody to speak on behalf of the Government.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) : Mr. Minister, I would like to make one point. There is an *Iftar* party at the residence of the hon. Chairman. How much time will you take to complete ?

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER : I will take half-an-hour. At least 20 minutes, because many hon. Members have raised certain points and I want to clarify them.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) : Kindly try to conclude within 10 minutes.

SHRI MD. SALIM : No, we want a satisfactory reply.

SHRI M. A. BABY : Tytler Ji, will you yield for a minute ?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) : Mr. Baby, you kindly take your seat.

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER : Many important issues were raised specially on the reservation. I would like to inform Members, Indian Airlines and Air India would continue to .. (*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) : He is not yielding.

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER : This reservation policy would continue to be applicable as for .. (*Interruptions*).. The policy generally adopted by the Government for the public and private .. (*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) : Mr. Minister, are you yielding ?

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER : I am not yielding.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) : Mr Baby, he is not yielding. Please take your seat.

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER : Mr. Jagmohanji had raised an issue about operations on the trunk routes. He said that they would be monopolising only the trunk routes. Now the whole country has been divided into three categories. The first category is the trunk routes. The second category is routes connecting stations in the North-East region. Jammu and Kashmir, the Andaman and Nicobar Islands and Lakshdweep. The third category is stations which does not connect Bombay-Bangalore, Bombay-Calcutta, Bombay-Delhi, Bombay-Hyderabad. Bombay-Madras, Bombay-Trivandrum, Calcutta-Delhi, Calcutta-Bangalore, Calcutta-Madras, Delhi-Bangalore, Delhi-Madras. These are the major profit-making routes. Now the rules which have come into force are these : The operators will deploy on routes in category-II at least 10 per cent of the capacity it deploys on the route in category-I and the capacity thus required to be deployed in category-II at least, 10 per cent will be deployed in service segment, therefore, operated exclusively within the North-East region, Jammu and Kashmir, the Andaman and Nicobar. Islands and Lakshadweep. The operators will deploy on route category-III at least 50 per cent of the capacity it deploys on routes in category-I. This should satisfy most of the Members that they would not be allowed to monopolise certain routes which are only profit-making. They would also have to give their support equipment and all those things which proper services are expected to give.

I would like to inform Members that our efforts would be to see that this would be a Government-controlled company. As I had already mentioned earlier, no foreigners would be able to control it. Even with foreigners investing .. (*Interrnptions*) ... I have not yet finished.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA : Will the shares be traded openly in the stock exchange ? If it is so, Dr. Manmohan Singh said that if they are traded in the stock exchange anybody can purchase them. So, it goes against the decision of Dr. Manmohan Singh.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY)): The Finance Minister would reply to your point during the debate on the General Budget.

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA (Karnataka) : It has become a monopoly of Mr. Gurudas Das Gupta to disturb the proceedings of the House everytime.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA : Of course.

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER : After this ground has been prepared, I take this opportunity to state on the floor of this august House, the object of our transport policy is to secure operation of safe and efficient air transport service and to promote development of air transport industry in a competitive environment. The basic elements of policy are repeal of the Air Corporations Act, 1953, to distinguish monopoly of the Air Corporation over the scheduled air transport services and to convert the Corporations into a public limited companies provide a statutory framework for orderly development of the airline in a competitive environment, guide the industry to meet long range requirement of tourists travel and trade for the country as a whole and in different regions, give such direction as may be required to secure safety of the air services and safeguard the health of the air transport industry.

So far as international air services are concerned, it will be the endeavour of the State to obtain for the national carriers—Air India and Indian Airlines comparative rights of operation under the prevailing international practice or bilateral agreement with different countries

while giving them the right to operate air services to India so as to cater adequately to the requirements of tourism, travel and international trade.

I think I have practically answered most of the issues which were raised by Members. I hope that I have been able to meet the major points raised by Members. I would now ask the hon. Members to extend their support to pass the Bill to usher in a new era for the air transport industry to develop in a competitive environment in which passengers will have their rightful and pivotal position.

SHRI ASHOK MITRA: I am on a point of order. I am a Member of this House. I have a right. (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANSAMY): All of you, kindly take your seats.

SHRI ASHOK MITRA : Tre Minister for Civil Aviation took leave of absence for today and tomorrow, but he did not explicitly seek leave, seek permission, of the House or of the Chairman, to allow one of his colleagues to move this very important Bill. And, as we could see, the substitute Minister floundered. He read out certain written statements and none of the points on which we have put very serious questions, he has bothered to answer. Therefore, I suggest that the final decision on voting on this very important Bill should be postponed till the Minister arrives here. (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) : One minute Dr. Ashok Mitra, you have raised a point of order. I would like to read the letter written by the hon. Minister to the hon. Chairman. (*Interruptions*). Mr. Ahluwalia kindly take your seat. The Minister has requested the hon. Chairman saying, in the concluding paragraph, "Therefore, I request you, Sir, to grant me permission to be away on these days and allow my colleague Shri Jagdish Tytler, Minister for Surface Transport, to move the Bill for consideration and passing, on my behalf." Therefore, your point of order is rejected, Mr. Mitra. (*Interruptions*). Mr. Baby, I have dealt with the point of order. Kindly take your seat. (*Interruption*). Mr. Gurudas Das Gupta, I am not permitting you.

I shall now put the Resolution moved by Shri Maheshwar Singh to vote.

The question is.

That this House disapproves of the Air Corporations (Transfer of Undertaking and Repeal) Ordinance, 1994 (No. 4 of 1994) promulgated by the President on the 29th January, 1994.

The motion was negatived

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) : I shall now put the motion moved by Shri Jagdish Tytler to vote (*Interruptions*).

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA : We want a division.

DR. BAPU KALDATE : We want a division.

SYED SIBTEY RAZI (Uttar Pradesh) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, you have already pronounced your ruling that the Resolution is negatived.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) : This is a different thing.

I shall now put the motion of Shri Jagdish Tytler to vote.

The Question is :

That the Bill to provide for the transfer and vesting of the undertakings of Indian Airlines and Air India respectively to and in the companies formed and registered as Indian Airlines Limited and Air India Limited and for matters connected therewith or incidental thereto and also to repeal the Air Corporations Act, 1953, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration.

The House divided

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY):

AYES—61

NOES—29

AYES—(61)

Abrar Ahmed, Dr.
Ahluwalia, Shri S.S.
Alva, Shrimati Margaret
Antony, Shri A.K. (Kerala)
Balbir Singh, Shri (Punjab)
Barengapa, Shri Sushil
Bhandare, Shri Murlidhar Chandrakant
Bhardwaj, Shri Hansraj
Bhatia, Shri Madan
Birla, Shri Krishna Kumar
Chaturvedi, Shri Bhuvnesh
Chavan, Shri S.B. (Maharashtra)
Chowdhry Hari Singh
Dard, Shri Jagir Singh (Punjab)
Desai, Shri Jagesh (Maharashtra)
Dutta, Dr. B.B. (Nominated)
Faguni Ram, Dr.
Fernandes, Shri John F.
Fotedar, Shri Makhan Lal
Hanumanthappa, Shri H.
Hariprasad, Shri B.K.
Hashmi, Shri Shamim
Hiphei, Shri
Jacob, Shri M.M.
Jayadevappa, Shri K.R.
Kailashpati, Shrimati
Kalita, Shri Bhubaneswar
Kalmadi, Shri Suresh
Khaparde, Miss Saroj
Korwar, Shri Gundappa
Lenka, Shri Kanhu Charan
Majumdar, Shri Sudhir Rajan
Malaviya, Shri Radhakishan
Matang Sinh, Shri (Assam).
Mathur, Shri Manmohan (Orissa)
Mishra, Shri Shiv Pratap
Mohammad Yunus, Shri (Nominated)
Mukherjee, Shri Pranab
Pande, Shri Bishambhar Nath
Patel, Shri Vithalbhai M.
Pillai, Shri Thennala Balakrishna
Pragada Kotaiah, Shri
Rafique Alam, Shri
Ratan Kumari, Shrimati
Razi, Syed Sibtey
Reddy, Shri G. Prathapa
Sahu, Shri Rajni Ranjan
Sanadi, Prof. I.G.
Sarma, Shrimati Basanti
Satya Bahin, Shrimati
Sharma Shri Venod
Singh, Shri K.N.
Singh, Shri Vishvjit P.
Singla, Shri Surinder Kumar
Surjewala, Shri S.S.
Swaminathan, Shri G.
Thakur, Shri Rameshwar
Upendra, Shri P.
Verma, Shrimati Veena
Yadav, Shri Ram Naresh
Yadava, Shri Bal Ram Singh

NOES—(29)

Baby, Shri M.A.
Bhattacharya, Prof. Saurin
Das Gupta, Shri Gurudas
Ganesan, Shri Misa R.
Gautam, Shri Anand Pradash
Goswami, Shri Ramnarayan
Kaldate, Dr. Bapu
Maheshwari, Shrimati Sarala
Md. Salim, Shri
Menon, Prof. M.G.K.
Mitra, Shri Ashok
Mohanty, Shri Sarada
Padmanabham, Shri Mentay
Pandey, Shrimati Chandra Kala
Paswan, Shri Brahmadeo Anand
Pillai, Shri Ramachandran
Rahman, Shri Mohd. Khaleelur

Rai, Shri Ratna Bahadur
Raju, Shri J.S.
Rao, Shri Moturu Hanumantha
Samantaray, Shri Pravat Kumar
Sen, Shri Sukomal
Sinha, Shrimati Kamla
Sivaji, Dr. Yelamanchili
Trivedi, Shri Dineshbhai
Venkatraman, Shri Tindivanam G.
Viduthalal Virumbi Shri S.
Yadav, Shri Ish Dutt
Yadav, Shri Ranjan Prasad

The motion was adopted

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): We shall now take up clause-by-clause consideration of the Bill.

Clause 2 *to* 12 *were added to the Bill.*
Clause 1, *the Enacting Formula and the Title wert addtd to the Bill.*

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER: Sir, I move :

That the Bill be passed.

The question was put and the motion was adopted

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) : The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at forty-nine minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Tuesday, the 8th March, 1994.

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